SEASON'S GREETINGS AND A BRIGHT NEW YEAR TO ALL OUR READERS

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
15 cents
the progressive newsweekly
VOL. 12, NO. 11 NEW YORK, DECEMBER 28, 1959

MADRID WAS A FACADE

It looks like April in Paris for Summit if Mr. K says Yes

By Kumar Goshal

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S reception in Paris Dec. 18 was in sharp contrast to the ovation he received in Asia. There were no crowds—cheering or curious—to greet him. Even the weather seemed inhospitable: as dark, chilly and wet as it was sunny and warm in Asia.

As he got off his special train at the Gare de Lyon, French President Charles de Gaulle welcomed him perfunctorily, rushed him to his car and then on to the home of U.S. Ambassador Amory Houghton. Eisenhower promptly went to bed, no doubt thinking of the two-day ordeal he faced with de Gaulle and with British Prime Minister Macmillan and West German Chancellor Adenauer, who had arrived earlier with even less fanfare.

The following day Eisenhower and de Gaulle held what were described as "very frank and friendly talks." Later the four Western leaders met to decide on the time, place and agenda of an East-West summit meeting. On Dec. 20 it was announced that they had agreed on a summit conference in Paris during the week of April 25, 1960.

DE GAULLE'S POT: It was also reported that the U.S., British and French Ambassadors have been instructed to tell Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko which topics the Western powers wished to discuss: disarmament, Germany and Berlin, and East-West relations—including pool-

(Continued on Page 8)

Pierotti, New York Post

"Take me to your president!"

THEY HAVEN'T QUITE GOT TOGETHER YET ON 'PEACE ON EARTH,' BUT. . .

Just before the UN Asembly adjourned there was unanimous agreement on a UN Committee on Outer Space Control, based on an East-West resolution. Above, the "U's" have it in a rare show of agreement. Hands raised (l. to r.): the U.S., the U.K., the U.A.R. and the U.S.S.R.

MINE, MILL UNION FIGHTS TWO-FRONT BATTLE

Nine convicted in Denver 'conspiracy' case

By Robert E. Light

ON DEC. 17 a Federal jury in Denver, after 14 hours of deliberation, convicted nine former and present leaders of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union of conspiracy to file false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits. The trial had been timed to coincide with the union's strike against the Big Five in the copper industry. Defense lawyers Telford Taylor, Nathan Witt and George Francis said they would appeal.

When the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union grew out of Big Bill Haywood's old Western Federation of Miners shortly after World War I, it became heir to a tradition of fighting the companies and the cops at the same time. It has had many occasions since to call on its heritage as it fought to bring decent conditions to the mines.

Through most of its battles the union has been able to count on support from the rest of the labor movement and the liberal community. But today, in the midst of a two-front fight against the non-ferrous metal industry and the U.S. government, the union stands virtually as **Business Week** (Dec. 5) described it: "The Ishmael of labor, driven out into the desert and abandoned."

Shortly after the union struck the non-ferrous mines in August, the government opened its trial with an original 14 defendants. The indictment had been handed down in November, 1956, and the alleged conspiracy was placed between 1949 and 1956.

THREE CHANGE PLEAS: As the trial opened, one of the defendants, Alton Lawrence, executive board member from Bessemer, Ala., asked to be tried separately from Asbury Howard, Negro vice president from the same city, on the ground that there would be "strong public reaction" back home against his family. Judge Alfred A. Arraj rejected the motion and Lawrence entered a plea of **nolo contendere** (no contest). The union's executive board denounced Lawrence's "racist statements" and accepted his resignation.

A few days later two other defendants, Graham Dolan, publicity director, and Albert Pezatti, former secretary-treasurer, also entered no contest pleas. They gave no reason for their actions.

The government's case was presented by ten witnesses; nine were former union members and the tenth was John Lautner, former Communist Party official. They said the defendants had pretended to leave the CP in order to sign the affidavits. All had testified in other witch-hunts and cross-examination brought out that most made a good living at it. For example, the defense showed that Art Morales in January, 1954, was drawing money from four sources: his job in the mines, part-time work as a union organizer, the Communist Party and the FBI.

(Continued on Page 10)

PLEAS FOR CLEMENCY URGED

Uphaus bid for freedom pending appeal rejected

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE Supreme Court on Dec. 17 refused to release Dr. Willard Uphaus pending consideration of his appeal from a contempt conviction which has placed him behind the bars of the Merrimack County jail for one year.

Uphaus' attorneys, Royal France of New York and Hugh Bownes of Laconia, N.H., asked the court to stay the sentence until it coud decide "important statutory and constitutional questions" raised by the Christian pacifist peace leader. They claimed that the state Superior Court which had sentenced Uphaus lacked jurisdiction and that the law under which he was jailed expired two years ago.

State Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman opposed the request. Dr. Uphaus had refused Wyman's demand in 1955 that he surrender a guest list of the World Fellowship camp at Conway, N.H. Dr. Uphaus said he would not "bring people into public scorn," and based his stand on "loyalty to God and to the Bible" and to the First Amendment.

"SACRILEGE": Wyman, before the Supreme Court, described Dr. Uphaus' stand as "nothing short of sacrilege," and asked the justices to "put an end to these dilatory proceedings once and for all." While denying the request for a stay, the court took the arguments under advisement. A decision is not expected for a month or more.

Meanwhile, Dr. Uphaus was adjusting to the routine of the jail on the bank of the Merrimack River where Henry David Thoreau once boated. He had been remanded there three days before the Supreme Court hearing, encouraged by the good wishes of a group of friends who gathered outside the jail to pray, read from the Bible and sing hymns and "America." With him he took a Bible,

(Continued on Page 3)

In this issue

REST YE ALL, MERRY
Rhyme for Readers . . . . p. 2
8 YEARS, 4 MONTHS
Rosenbergs and Sobell . . p. 3
THIS IS JAPAN TODAY
On-the-spot report . . . . p. 4
A NEWSPAPER DIES
In Little Rock, Ark. . . . p. 6
HENRY DAVID THOREAU
A guide to his life . . . . p. 9
'ON THE BEACH'
A Spectator comment . . p. 12

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $5 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom 35s a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $6 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103 Avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-exile* · JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* · JAMES ARONSON, *Editor*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Louis E. Burnham, Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Robert E. Light, Tabitha Petran, Robert Joyce (Art), David Reif (Art Library), Norval D. Welch (Production). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. PROMOTION and CIRCULATION: George Evans. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Narendra Goyal (New Delhi), Ursula Wassermann (roving correspondent), LOS ANGELES representative: Jack Fox, 465 So. Detroit St., Los Angeles 36. Phone WEbster 8-8065.

Vol. 12, No. 11 401 December 28, 1959

THE MAIL BAG

A dying order?

JENKINS, MINN.

This is a capitalist nation. Capitalism has a tendency to degenerate into fascism and fascism must have inflation and wars in order to exist. The capitalist system, and fascism, are dying orders and those who will adhere to a dying order must die with it.

In the last 20 years the U.S. government has deteriorated badly. We can no longer boast of being the leading power of the world. The U.S.S.R. is now the leading power, and the Chinese Peoples Republic is advancing at a surprising rate. The socialist nations want to abolish all future wars and armament. They believe in construction and peaceful development.

It is time for American citizens to wake up and realize the danger of the dismal abyss now about to engulf them. We must insist on the total abolition of all future wars. We want the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces and bombing bases from foreign territory. All war industries must cease at once. They are but a detriment to world peace and progress.

Robert Scherlie

$64,000 Question . . .

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A number of our righteous newspaper editors were quite upset about the lack of morality evidenced in the fakery and deception of the television quiz shows. Yet they see nothing wrong in accepting chemical warfare as something "moral."

Now that Van Doren has unburdened his soul, will all the fakers in our land who have profited considerably at the expense of the people, decide to make a clean breast of things?

Miriam Stern

. . . and challenge

ELKVIEW, W.VA.

The recent revelations of criminal activities in the TV industry with their rigged give-away shows is further confirmation of what I have been writing to my local newspapers all along. Namely, that our governmental, political and social structure is rotten from top to bottom. I recently challenged my local newspaper editors to put their finger on any phase of our government, local or national, or any phase of our business, political, religious or social life or to any government agency or any other agency ranging from the United Fund to the Society of Newspaper Editors that was free from crime and corruption. My challenge remains unaccepted.

Curtis L. Morris

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"Many companies," said Professor Brighouse, "would do better if they just flipped a coin to decide what future leaders they planned to train. For instance, intelligence is far from necessary for leadership. So are all the other Boy Scout virtues of honesty, industry, loyalty. One of the greatest leaders in Southern California, for instance, is an imbecile. But when they really need something done, this is the man they go to." [From an address by Prof. Gilbert Brighouse, professor of psychology at Occidental College, speaking before the 17th annual Management Conference of the Merchants and Manufacturers Assn. at Palm Springs, Calif.]

—Los Angeles **Times**, 10/28/59

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: N. R., Los Angeles, Calif.

High cost of quiz

EL CAJON, CALIF.

May I comment on your question "in the interest of even handed justice"—Report to Readers, Nov. 16?

Isn't it possible that quiz show producer Freedman was permitted to go to Mexico because he is a "businessman" unfortunately indicted for what may be a simple business peccadillo, whereas William Z. Foster was indicted for thinking, and therefore may not go abroad?

Freedman said "the public wasn't paying any admission . . ." To which I say "the hell it wasn't."

When the "prize" money is paid out it becomes part of the cost of the show. To that is added, of course, all wages, power, even wear and tear on the equipment. Then on top of this is added a fat profit for the network, the station, the advertising agency and all other hangers-on and that is what the cost of the product one buys is loaded with before its profit too is added. So that in the retail price is included every bit of expense in connection with the manufacture and sale of the product and that retail price is what the consumer sucker pays.

Robert Karger

De Gregory defense

BOSTON, MASS.

May we call your attention to the organization of the De Gregory Defense Committee. Like Dr. Willard Uphaus, just sentenced to a year's imprisonment, Hugo De Gregory faces jail for refusing to answer the New Hampshire Attorney General's questions.

De Gregory, however, invoked the Fifth Amendment. New Hampshire passed a state immunity law which took away his privilege without in any way relieving him of liability before the Federal courts. The Supreme Court refused to accept his appeal; Justices Warren, Black, and Douglas dissented. Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman hailed this decision as "breaking the back of the Fifth Amendment."

Inquiries and contributions would be gratefully received.

Priscilla di Giovanni, Treas.
De Gregory Defense Committee
Box 103, Hanover St. Sta.
Boston 13, Mass.

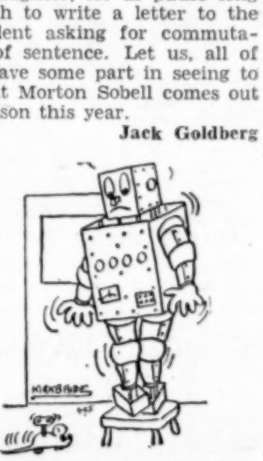
For Morton Sobell

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Ten years have passed, with the length of ten long winters. For many of us ten years of growing up among brothers, sisters, friends; for many of us ten years of study, discovery, of digging roots in society. For many it has been years of laughter, times spent with children, with family, at the theater, at the movies, at concerts. It has been ten Thanksgivings, ten Yuletides.

But for Morton Sobell they have been ten times a hundred years—years without the stars at night, years without comfort and warmth of wife, mother, children, friends; years of agony, despair and loneliness. When we sit down at our family dinners, with the candles and festivities and laughter, let us pause long enough to write a letter to the President asking for commutation of sentence. Let us, all of us—have some part in seeing to it that Morton Sobell comes out of prison this year.

Jack Goldberg



Vie Nuove, Rome

Pen-pal, anyone?

SOROTI, UGANDA,
BRITISH EAST AFRICA

I was given your address by one of my friends living here in Soroti. I am 15; I would like pen friends.

I am very interested in football, in my studies, in Rock'n' Roll dance; my hobbies are collecting stamps and in reading comics, newspapers, etc.

Ali, Shah Karam, P.O. Box 151

Los Angeles angels

LOS ANGELES

It was with a feeling of inadequacy that I accepted the job of Los Angeles representative of the GUARDIAN. The feeling of inadequacy is, however, lessened a good deal by the hope that the L. A. readers will help.

Please call on me for all your GUARDIAN needs — subscriptions, etc. But please call also to help in our coming activities. We (a committee and myself) are planning a big GUARDIAN birthday affair Feb. 13. Details will be announced shortly. In the meanwhile please get in touch with me.

To the GUARDIAN, to L.A. readers, to all of humanity—A Happy New Year!

Jack Fox
465 So. Detroit, L.A. 36
WEbster 8-8065

Buck's bucks

ROSEMEAD, CALIF.

Aside to "Buck" of West Covina: "Thanks loads for the $5 extra bonus this month and for the many long years of unbroken contributions you've made through us to the GUARDIAN. You're a grade AA Angel."

We would like the paper to be a little more positive about the kind of life we could expect to lead under socialism. In light of the most recent history-making events, we feel people are beginning to accept the existence and reality of socialism, and would like to know how it might effect them here in America.

Aaron & Dorothy Braude

RHYME TO READERS

Rest ye all, merry

TO WILLARD UPHAUS in Merrimack gaol: a measure from Longfellow's Christmas tale, "The wrong shall fail, the right prevail, with peace on earth, good will to men!" Now for good measure let's sing it again, for Barenblatt, Thompson, Winston and Green, Davis, Fisher, Slack & Sobell; all of good will wish you well—and for your gaolers, each a cell.

STRIKE THE HARP for Harvey O'Connor and others deserving of this honor, for lofting the Bill of Rights to new heights, and giving Freedom a new ring, like Martin Luther King. Wreathe the holly, twine the bay, for Albert Schweitzer & Dorothy Day, Corliss Lamont & Norman Cousins—a fortunate rhyme for the myriad dozens who keep our peace hopes ever afire, like Linus Pauling & Congressmen Meyer.

FURTHERMORE, FOR PEACE when it does come, all credit to plain folks like Florence Luscomb. And each & every rank-and-filer, Atlantis Marshall & Walter Iler, Frank Van Camp & W. L. Overholser, Harry Grossman, our cabbie philosopher; Robert Casey, Ernest McNutt, Elly & Ruth from Connecticut, N. Egavian, M. Horenian, Heinzelman, Beckerman, Gleason & Zimmerman; Clarissa Kneeland, Abu Bakr, Sitka's Owen Rademacher; Bert & Harry, Tony & Bill, the folks by the fire at Normal, Ill.—Of Tom & Jerry quaff your fill!

NOEL, NOEL to Hawaii's Adele, Glenn P. Turner and Karl Nell (who send us greetings in Esperanto); Nina Hammer and Pete Ippolito, Goldblatt, Matles and UE's Wright Bros., the girl who writes the ads for Supphose; Grambs, R.J. & Pablo Picasso; Oistrakh, Gilels and N. Cherkassow; Helen Silver and Kate Greenschpoon, the Citizens' Committee to Save the Dunes. R. D. Merrick, L.D. Reddick, A. Dornblatt & A. & A. Medic; Reuel Stanfield, Minnie Greenfield and the boys around the store in Wheatfield; Rosebury, Cherry, Kerry, Ferry and all other names that rhyme with Serri—rest ye merry!

RING OUT WILD BELLS for Haakon H. Hynek, Raymond Rector, Jo & Cedric; Veni Vidi, Beth & Blackie, Grace and Casimir Nowacki, Hubert Leckie, Susan Nedvecky, Ida Kossoff, Lee & Elsie, Amy & Eve & Harriet Belsky, Adam Farmer, David Dunraven, Colton P. Pick & Dorothy Haven, Christine Sydow & Helen Sweeney, Oakley Johnson and Joe Buccini, Ed O'Neill & his friend the barber, the clamdiggers in Lovelady's Harbor; Rossell Robbins, Horace Meldahl, the Wilsons, Luke, C.P. et al—hope you all are having a ball. Hugh Weston, Paddy Hehir, Bolivar Bullfinch & Mrs. Behr, J. M. Hollowink, M. Clar, all our frugivores, near and far, Marge and Dave, Ruby Heck, the Highwater Hellers & Frank Pollitsek, Gladys Bentley, Donna Lonnern & Mary Irish & John T. McTernan—we wish for you as we do for Rose Chernin, figgy pudding with brandy burning.

AN OVERFLOWING CORNUCOPIA to Essie & Paul & the folks from Robesonia; Anita & Henry, L. & L. B., Ruby Dee & Mandell T., Bory Brail & the Nebenzals, D. & B. and the Clan MacDougall, Howard Da Silva, Walter Millsap, Karen & Lloyd & Joseph Papp. To Dr. DuBois & his lady fair, the folks up at Hashomir Hatsair, wellwishers from Voltaire, N. Dakota, Nowak, Rowoldt, Carlisle & Heikkila; good George Sogle, Jesse Keeble, John Smejkal & Stanley Turkel, the Denver Six, the Cleveland Seven, the Membership men and the Mine-Mill brethren, folks on the Vineyard, the Cape and Nantucket—cheers & wassail by the bucket. Sugarplums for various chums, Harlow Shapley & Michael Colloms, Vernon Ward & Ernest Mazey, the Floods & Mrs. Eskinazi. Bel canto to R. E. Boe, Millen Brand & Rube Borough, Muriel S. & S. M. Elam, **Leaves of Chess** & Eve Merriam; Walter Lowenfels, Anton Refregier, Maurice Becker & Vladimir Dedijer.

BRING A TORCH to the vanguard groups, Farrell Dobbs & Darlington Hoopes. Trill the fiddle, thump the bass, greet Gus Hall & Eric Hass. To publishers off the Street Called Easy, Trachtenberg, Stone, Hansen & Sweezy; the **Maverick** crew, Prometheus Paperbacks, Tom Scribner, the scrivening lumberjack; to Humboldt, Aptheker & Co., Ray Kellogg in Norwalk, O., to Roving Eye & Seven Seas—gifts of suitable subsidies (and don't forget us, Santa, please.) P.S. To **Studies on the Left**, dear Kris, a heft to Box 2121, Madison, Wis.

LET THE BRIGHT RED BERRIES GLOW for subscribers in Deary, Idaho; River Jordan & Soap Lake, Wash., Ottertail, Minn., & each Oshkosh; Shining Tree & Candle, Alaska, Painted Post & Friend, Nebraska. Shepherds hark the jubilee in Village Creek & out to sea. Holpen are all folks in Bliss, Idaho, and Unity, Wis. Roundelays in Roulette, Pa., echo in Lark Park, far away; chimes in Bowbells, N.D., say, to Bad Axe, Mich., "Lully, lullay." And down in Jersey a Barnegat drum welcomes Yuletide to Ship Bottom.

JOYS TO OUR ADVERTISERS ALL, progressive & Atlas Optical, Classic Guitar, Standard Brand & each & every moving man; Helen's Marts & Clara Gavurin, all our different types of insuring; Social Science, Frederick Ewen, Allaben, Briehl's, Chait's & so on, 1,000 Names & Karu Perfume—rising rates of profit to 'em. We don't know what we'd do without 'em (for the rest of our clients, see Adv. columns.)

WELL, THAT'S ABOUT IT FOR '59, wish we had space for a few more rhymes—Mao, for example, Nehru & Nkrumah, Sean O'Casey & Hyman Lumer, Charlie Collins, Vin & Vivian, Dr. Aslan and Anastas Mikoyan. The Jozef Winiewiczes & Harry Bridges (didn't think we could rhyme them, did yez?).

So, to all hands, from A to Z, may you never feel the need for H-3!

**—John T. McManus
for the GUARDIAN Staff**

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY

Sen. Young gets standing ovation at ECLC dinner

SENATOR Stephen M. Young (D-Ohio) received a standing ovation when he rose to speak at the Bill of Rights Dinner of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in New York Dec. 15. The tribute, by 600 persons present, was for the Senator's mind-your-own-business reply to the American Legion which had sought to persuade him not to appear (GUARDIAN, Dec. 21).

Although obviously shaky after a bout with penicillin poisoning, the Senator delivered a 40-minute address which was interrupted 16 times by applause. "I would have come here and delivered this speech even if they had to carry me in on a stretcher," he told reporters.

In his speech he said that "in any form of government worth its salt, the people should be free to criticize, to challenge and to expose." McCarthyism, he said, was still with us "and it may take a generation to remove all this rubbish." He reserved his sharpest barbs for Rep. Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio), a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He said he hoped the voters would catch up with Scherer next November and defeat this "super-duper patriot and definer of Americanism."

CIVIL RIGHTS LAW: Senator Young devoted a good part of his speech to the need for a strong civil rights law which he said must be approved in the next session of Congress. He said the law should include a declaration by Congress that segregation in the schools violates the 14th Amendment; power for the Attorney General to seek court remedies to protect individuals denied equal protection of the law; inspection of election records by the Attorney General, and abolition of the poll tax.

I. F. Stone, publisher of **I. F. Stone's Weekly**, received the ECLC's Tom Paine award for 1959. Messages of congratulations were received for Stone from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Bertrand Russell and Clarence E. Pickett.

Other speakers at the dinner were Harvey O'Connor, ECLC co-chairman; Aubrey Williams, editor of the **Southern Farmer** and director of the National Youth Administration under President Roosevelt; Leonard B. Boudin, ECLC general counsel, and former Judge Hubert T. Delany.

The Uphaus case

(Continued from Page 1)

a book of poetry and a volume of Thoreau's writings.

Dr. Uphaus was assigned a standard cell, about 8 by 12 feet, equipped with a folding cot, small round sink, seatless toilet, chair, table, radio and a single overhead light. The windowless cubicle fronts on an exercise corridor ten feet wide and 60 feet long. Across the corridor, facing the bars of Dr. Uphaus' cell, is another row of bars, topped by a small window which affords the prisoner his only view of the outside world.

HIGH SPIRITS: Confined to the cell and the corridor, Dr. Uphaus told a visitor that he missed "the feel of the earth under my feet and the sky over my head." But he had only praise for his jailers and was making fast friends with fellow-prisoners in the cell-block below. They had talked of social problems and "just chit chat" and the men below had sent up to the 69-year-old pacifist a cup of cocoa and a stack of old **Readers Digest** magazines.

Mrs. Uphaus, a former Methodist missionary in China, reported after a weekly half-hour visit that her husband's spirits were high. "It makes it a lot easier," she said, "if you are paying the price for something you firmly believe in."

Supporters are pressing a campaign for clemency. The Washington **Post** (Dec. 16) called Dr. Uphaus' imprisonment "a reproach" to New Hampshire and the nation, and added: "It would be no more than an act of deference to the Higher Power which Dr. Uphaus has served according to his conscience if he were now to be granted clemency appropriate to the Christmas season."

The New York **Times** called for clemency "in the name of individual conscience and civil liberty."

LETTERS URGED: World Fellowship, Inc. and the Religious Freedom Committee urged that letters requesting clemency be sent to Judge George R. Grant Jr. of the New Hampshire Superior Court—the only man with power to grant clemency at this point—at Concord, N.H. It also recommended that copies be sent to Gov. Wesley R. Powell, Concord, N.H.

Don't forget them

NEW YEAR'S greetings and messages of support may be sent to two defenders of the First Amendment: Lloyd Barenblatt, Federal Correction Institute, Danbury, Conn., and Dr. Willard Uphaus, Merrimack County Jail, Boscawen, N.H.

THE ROSENBERG CONVICTION

Is this the Dreyfus Case of cold war America?

THREE years ago, in our very first weeks of publication, the GUARDIAN set forth the details of the Trenton Six case for the first time beyond the immediate Trenton area. Our investigation convinced us then that the Six were innocent but that they would nevertheless be executed by the State of New Jersey unless a great public demand could be mobilized to free them. The rest of this ...

Fuchs is now serving a 14-year sentence in England and is still working on projects for the British government. Four other persons confessed to complicity with Fuchs. Of these, Harry Gold was sentenced to 30 years, scientist Alfred Dean Slack to 15, Sgt. David Greenglass to 15; Greenglass' wife was never tried and walks free today.

Implicated by David Greenglass and his wife (Greenglass is Mrs. Rosen- ...

... in peace-time in the unenlightened 19th century). In a series of newspaper articles under the heading "J'Accuse!" the novelist Zola charged monarchist and clerical elements with deliberately framing Dreyfus, and after 13 years of frightful suffering Dreyfus' innocence was established.

Only 18 years ago the stage was set for the long night of Nazism in Germany when the Communist leader Georgi Dimitrov and the Dutch youth ...

... diary should expiate his crime was the securing of a legal pronouncement in favor of the alleged complicity in the fire of their most feared and hated political opponents, the Communist Party of Germany. . . . The terror, the persecution and attempted political and economic annihilation of the Jews, the working-class movement, and the progressive thinkers of Germany, thus received some shadow of apparent legal justification.

The facts we shall present about the Rosenberg case will at least pose the question for most of our ...

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1959 EVENING STANDARD—PAGE 10

CRIME AGAINST THE STATE By Edgar Lustgarten

No. 5: The Rosenbergs

WAS THIS A LEGAL LYNCHING?

I REMEMBER one June evening in 1953 impatiently waiting to cross over Regent Street.

In front of me, appearing almost to fill the roadway, marched an irregular but closely formed procession—youths in mackintoshes, girls in head scarves, middle-aged and elderly folk in heterogeneous garb—uttering the most mournful cries that I had ever heard.

Above their heads, thrust aloft by aching arms, improvised banners blazoned: *"The Rosenbergs Must Not Die."*

And that was in England; that was on the periphery of it all; that was merely a dim reflection, a faint echo, of the tremendous social and political upheaval which the Rosenberg couple—plump nondescript young housewife Ethel, pale nondescript young husband Julius—created throughout the entire United States during their slow progress towards the electric chair.

Were they—as Mr. Eisenhower affirmed—guilty of deliberately betraying a whole nation? Or was theirs—as M. Jean-Paul Sartre wrote—a legal lynching ...

JULIUS ROSENBERG

ETHEL ROSENBERG

... would by themselves make a detached observer pause.

But they acquire additional weight from a collatoral factor, affecting not only Greenglass but his wife.

Both—on their own showing and by their own assertion—were the accomplices of those they now denounce.

And that it is dangerous to act on such uncorroborated evidence—not least when hopes of clemency or immunity rest on it—has long been a firm maxim of British and American law.

No I would not have convicted Julius and Ethel—nor, I conjecture, would a typical British ...

IN THIS SEASON OF GOOD WILL

Raise your voice for Morton Sobell

EIGHT YEARS and four months ago, in its issue of Aug. 15, 1951, the GUARDIAN carried an editorial article on page one, introducing a series of articles by William A. Reuben on the trial, conviction and death sentence of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The headline over the article read (see above): "Is this the Dreyfus case of cold war America?" The article said:

"We are convinced of the overwhelming probability of the evidence that the Rosenbergs are completely innocent. We believe you will be convinced when we have had the opportunity to lay all the evidence before you. We are confident that you will act, as you did in the case of the Trenton Six, to win vindication for these young parents and to repudiate the forces which would take their very lives as a propaganda measure in behalf of war and repression."

The Rosenbergs died. But not before a worldwide campaign in their behalf raised questions which troubled the consciences of heads of government, the Pope in Rome and millions of ordinary people in every reach of the globe. In the intervening five and one half years since the Rosenbergs were put to death in Sing Sing Prison, their case and their fate have been discussed in law journals, church publications, newspapers and over the radio and on television.

ON DEC. 11, 1959, the London **Evening Standard**, a mass-circulation newspaper published by Lord Beaverbrook, one of the most vigorous of the cold warriors during the time of the Rosenberg hysteria, printed an article by Edgar Lustgarten with this headline (see above): "WAS THIS A LEGAL LYNCHING?" Lustgarten is an attorney who has devoted most of his career to journalism. He is featured in a popular series of British film shorts on famous legal cases, and is a popular figure on British TV. In his article, which analyzes the testimony, especially the critical testimony of David Greenglass (Ethel Rosenberg's brother) and his wife, Lustgarten wrote:

"I remember one June evening in 1953 impatiently waiting to cross over Regent Street. In front of me, appearing almost to fill the roadway, marched an irregular but closely formed procession—youth in mackintoshes, girls in head scarves, middle-aged and elderly folk in heterogenous garb—uttering the most mournful cries that I had ever heard. Above their heads, thrust aloft by aching arms, improvised banners blazoned:

"'The Rosenbergs must not die.'

"And that was in England; that was on the periphery of it all; that was merely a dim reflection, a faint echo, of the tremendous social and political upheaval which the Rosenberg couple . . . created throughout the entire United States during their slow progress toward the electric chair.

"Were they—as Mr. Eisenhower affirmed—guilty of deliberately betraying a whole nation? Or was theirs—as M. Jean-Paul Sartre wrote—a legal lynching that smeared a whole nation with blood?"

Lustgarten concluded that, while he was "not satisfied" of the Rosenbergs' innocence, "it is dangerous to act on such uncorroborated evidence [as the Greenglasses']—not least when hopes of clemency or immunity rest on it—[as] has long been a firm maxim of British and American law. He said:

"No, I would not have convicted Julius and Ethel—nor, I conjecture, would a typical British jury, directed by a typical British judge in the typical temperate atmosphere of a British court. I would not have been—I am not today—satisfied of their guilt."

EIGHT YEARS and four months later a fellow victim of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg waits in Atlanta Penitentiary for vindication both for the dead and the living. Morton Sobell, serving a 30-year term, on the same conspiracy conviction, is a living testament to the integrity and innocence of the Rosenbergs—and of himself.

As hopeless as the fight to save the Rosenbergs seemed (and how close it may have been to victory!); as hopeless as the fight to free Morton Sobell may have seemed five years ago—today there is more than hope. There is a live and growing opportunity in which we must all participate if we are to live with our own consciences.

On Dec. 1 two leading philosophers, Bertrand Russell of England and Martin Buber of Israel, addressed a joint appeal for clemency for Sobell to President Eisenhower. They wrote: "Convinced of the innocence of Morton Sobell, . . . we, . . . in the interest of justice and humanity only, beg you to exercise your Presidential prerogative of clemency and return Morton Sobell to his family."

Will you today—as the most important thing you can do in this holiday season of good will—write to the President of the United States asking him, for the conscience of the nation and the world, to grant executive clemency to Morton Sobell? You will have a more peaceful holiday for having done it.

—THE EDITORS

COURT DECISION CLEARS WAY FOR TREATY REVISION

Will Japan become a nuclear-armed ally of U. S.?

By John Roberts
Special to the Guardian

TOKYO

ALTHOUGH OPPOSITION to a revised Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is steadily growing here, Japan's Supreme Court on Dec. 16 decided unanimously that the presence of U.S. bases and the maintenance of Japanese military units do not violate the 1947 Constitution which forbids Japan to maintain "land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential." The ruling removed any possible legal obstacle to signing the treaty, now scheduled for mid-January.

The Supreme Court ruling reversed a decision by a Tokyo District Court that stationing U.S. forces in Japan violates Article 9 of the Constitution.

Latest popular protest against the new revised treaty came on Dec. 10 when an estimated 4,500,000 held rallies, demonstrations, strikes and workshop meetings throughout the country under the leadership of the Peoples Council Against Revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. In and around Tokyo 60,000 persons participated in the action. The Dec. 10 demonstrations were the ninth in a series conducted by the Peoples Council, which is supported by trade unions, Socialists, Communists and students.

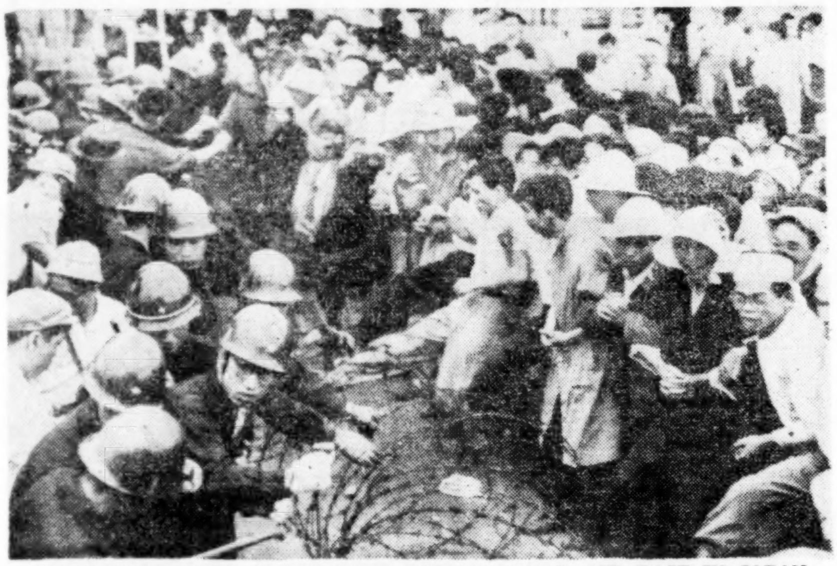
SHREWD MANEUVER: Premier Nobusuke Kishi's policy of revising the Security Treaty of 1951 was a shrewd maneuver to gain support of voters, both Right and Left, who opposed the present pact. But the revision removes few of the objectionable features and adds new ones which increase the danger of Japan's being drawn into a nuclear war. The fight against the new alliance is supported by all who have been active for peace, neutrality and the banning of nuclear weapons. But there is no relaxing of the government's determination to conclude the pact. Behind Mr. Kishi's

haste is the fear that if opposition continues to grow at the present rate, signing the treaty may become impossible.

The importance of the treaty lies in Japan's economic recovery, plus her strategic position in the Pacific "defense" perimeter, which has placed the government in a position to demand from the U.S. a more nearly equal status in international affairs. The "postwar" period has ended and a new era of Japan-U.S. relations has begun. The new phase was formally inaugurated in 1957, when Kishi visited Eisenhower, and was further developed during subsequent visits of the Premier with Dulles and other U.S. statesmen.

BASIC POLICY: The policy was stated by Finance Minister Eisaku Sato (Kishi's brother) last March: "The revision of the Security Treaty . . . implies a new adjustment of U.S.-Japan relations in pace with Japan's retrieving the status of an independent nation. This revision attained, economic tie-ups between the two countries will be greatly facilitated. The U.S. would give stronger support to Japan's economic cooperation wit . Southeast Asian countries and would induce much more U.S. private capital into Japan. I am considering revision of the foreign capital law so that it may comply with the situation that would follow the revision of the Security Treaty."

The new policy can be interpreted to mean that Japan, economically strong again, demands the right to rearm. As compensation for allowing the U.S. to retain military bases here and in Okinawa, and for supporting the State Department's anti-China policy (which has created serious economic and political problems for Japan) the U.S. will keep



DEMONSTRATORS CLASH WITH POLICE AT U.S. AIR BASE IN JAPAN
A Tokyo District Court two years ago freed seven demonstrators, charged with trespassing, on the ground that U.S. bases in Japan violated the 1947 Constitution, but this month the Supreme Court reversed the ruling. The Court ordered that the "trespassers" be re-tried.

American markets open to Japanese goods and will, most importantly, give Japan a free hand in penetrating Southeast Asia once again.

Japan will become a more fertile field for U.S. capital fleeing high-wage areas; and while such investments are not entirely welcome in Japan, they will liberate more Japanese capital for the new imperialist ventures favored by the Kishi-Ikeda-Fujiyama faction in power. The revised treaty is a major factor in the realization of these aims.

THE ZAIBATSU: Fundamental to the resurgence of Japan as an independent power with renewed imperialist hopes is the rapid and complete revival of the **zaibatsu**, those octopus-like combines which prepared and precipitated the Japanese aggression in Asia culminating in the Pacific War. The Mitsubishi, Mitsui and Sumitomo groups, comprising more than 80 of Japan's largest concerns and controlling hundreds of others, again dominate Japanese industry, commerce and finance. Aligned with them are new **zaibatsu** such as those grouped around Toyoda Motors, Kawasaki Heavy Industries, Hitachi Electric and the Fuji and Daiichi Banks.

Principally because of low wages and U.S. aid, Japanese enterprisers have been able during the postwar years to accumulate capital at a rate unimaginable in other industrial countries. But with the world's highest rate of production-increase and lagging consumption, the **zaibatsu** are always haunted by "overproduction." The State Department has held at bay American protectionists to keep the U.S. market open to Japan, but this artificial and unreliable outlet is inadequate for Japan's predominantly heavy industries.

Then, too, the price for this privilege is high. Being bound to the immovable Dulles China policy, Japan lost her trade with China which was beginning to boom when Peking cut off relations in 1958. The signing of the new Security Treaty, which China considers hostile and aggressive, will again dash the hopes of those many Japanese, including industrialists, who see China as Japan's logical market and raw-materials source.

EXPORT OF CAPITAL: The **zaibatsu** banks have begun to ship surplus capital abroad at a rapidly accelerated pace. Recent figures show that during the past two or three years, Japanese overseas loans and investments have multiplied more than ten times to a total of $1,157,000,000.

Although large amounts have been invested in or loaned to South America, the Middle East and other areas, the most favored field of investment is Southeast Asia. In addition to $1 billion in reparations to this area (most of which will go to the very **zaibatsu** responsible for the war damage), hundreds of millions have been lent to India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Pakistan, Burma, Thailand. Japanese industrialists have invested heavily in mines, mills, factories, electric plants and other production facilities throughout the former "Co-prosperity Sphere," threatening once again to dominate the economies and possibly the governments of the less developed countries.

Japan is being encouraged in this role by the U.S., not only as a means of promoting Japan's economy but of rearming, at much lower cost, the anti-communist governments of countries bordering China.

THE TIE-UPS: At first glance, it may appear that Japan is competing with the U.S. in this area. But actually, the "cooperation" program will be highly profitable to U.S. interests who have direct investments and technical tie-ups with Japanese firms. U.S. investments in Japan, including private loans, now exceed $700,000,000, (excluive of nearly $2,000,000,000 in unrepaid postwar recovery loans).

Biggest investors, all in partnership with the **zaibatsu**, are the oil companies (Caltex, a Standard affiliate, Standard Vacuum, Tidewater Associated), electric companies (International Standard Electric, a Western Electric affiliate, Westinghouse, G.E.), and others such as Goodrich, Monsanto, Dow, Alcoa, Libbey-Owens-Ford and Owens-Corning.

But the technical tie-ups, involving hundreds of U.S. corporations, are a far greater source of profit. The big electric companies, with their gift of atomic energy experience, are involved with the atomic enterprises of the major **zaibatsu**. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries and Kawasaki Aircraft will produce jet Starfighters under Lockheed licenses. Pratt & Whitney, North American Aviation, United Aircraft and Willys Overland also have tie-ups with Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, which once produced warships and Zero planes for Tojo's armed forces. Mitsui and Sumitomo likewise have technical tie-ups with numerous U.S. concerns. Royalties on such deals amount to ten times the dividends paid to foreign stockholders.

LOOKING AHEAD: It comes as no surprise, then, that the revived **zaibatsu** and their American partners should be pushing hard for rearmament profits under the revived Security Treaty. But the **zaibatsu** see beyond tomorrow. Their snowballing overseas investment will need protection; at home they are faced by a militant leftist labor movement and a Socialist Party which commands one-third of the electorate; and by backing the aggressive policies of the U.S. they are earning the enmity of China.

For the time being, they are largely dependent on the U.S. forces for protection. But at a time when U.S. finance is increasing its grip on the economy, such "protection" could threaten Japan's independence. Moreover, Japan is not unlikely to come into conflict with rival imperialist powers, especially when the potential colonial areas are shrinking so rapidly. Thus, the **zaibatsu**, and the government which represents them so faithfully, must feel the need to possess their own military power in order to achieve freedom of action.

THE DANGERS: The new pact would most certainly lead to an expansion of the armed forces which would make the Constitution obsolete. The draft treaty sets no restrictions on the deployment of U.S. troops abroad; Foreign Minister Fujiyama, questioned in the Diet, was forced to admit that Japan-based U.S. forces could be sent to China or even outside the Far East. Thus, U.S. bases could be prime targets even in conflicts in which Japan had no interest. Since the treaty stipulates that any attack on U.S. bases will be considered an attack on Japan itself, the Japanese must be prepared to retaliate, should the occasion arise.

The government minimizes the danger, pointing out that the pact calls for "consultation" on troop deployment and the use of nuclear weapons. But Japan has no veto power to prevent the Americans from doing as they please. It is said that U.S. planes frequently fly over Chinese territory; in the Laos "crisis" weapons were flown to that country from Japan, secretly. Such activities could provoke incidents leading to attacks on U.S. bases, and Japan would automatically become a combatant.

NUCLEAR THREAT: Under terms of the "Vandenberg Resolution," of which the draft pact takes cognizance, the Japanese would be required to equip for waging effective "modern warfare." This suggests the probability that nuclear weapons will be a part of their armament, a particularly sore point in A-bombed Japan.

Kishi has assured the people that nuclear arms would never be based on Japanese soil; yet the Defense Agency already possesses experimental A-capable missiles and the the big **zaibatsu** have made preparations for the production of such weapons. Bases for Nike-Ajax and Hercules missiles have already been designated, and announced military plans call for the creation of a "pentomic" division.

But the controversy over whether A-weapons will be allowed on Japanese soil is rather academic while the U.S. Seventh Fleet, whose fighting units are A-armed, sail in and out of U.S. naval bases in Japan. Reliable persons state that A-weapons are already available at some U.S. air bases. Introducing them is no problem, since the bases are not subject to inspection or control by Japanese authorities. American military spokesmen boasted openly of their plot to import Sidewinder missiles secretly, so as to avoid demonstrations or strikes by hostile labor groups; the missiles were brought in by plane to a base near Tokyo and delivered to the Japanese military in November. So why not A-bombs?

ONE HOPE: There is adequate evidence that the new Japan, **zaibatsu**-controlled and imperialist-oriented, may soon emerge as a nuclear-equipped, militarized power: a monstrous G.I. baby begotten on the prostrate body of Japan by the cold warriors of Washington.

But Americans, who are paying the bill, seem not to care; and the only obstacle to the monster's running amok is the determined opposition of the Japanese people.

The lives and freedom of hundreds of thousands of Asians may hinge upon the success of the Japanese movement to block the Security Treaty.

S.W. AFRICA PLEA HEARD

UN Assembly session reflects East-West thaw

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE UN General Assembly ended its 14th session Dec. 13 on a note of East-West harmony. The two-month deadlock between Soviet-backed Poland and U.S.-backed Turkey for a non-permanent seat in the Security Council was broken with an agreement that Poland would serve the first year of the two-year term and Turkey the second.

But colonial problems continued to plague the UN. As the chief delegates headed home for the holidays, a cable from Chief Hosea Kutako of the Herero tribe in Southwest Africa pleaded for immediate UN action to halt the killing of unarmed Southwest African tribesmen by South African government troops.

Kutako said that on Dec. 11 South African police and troops in armored cars fired on Africans demonstrating in front of a beerhall as part of a boycott of municipal services. The boycott is in protest against the forcible removal of some 16,000 Herero and Damara tribesmen from their quarters in Southwest Africa's capital of Windhoek.

THE GRIEVANCE: The Africans complain that their new quarters outside the city would cost $6 a month as against the present 50c a month in hut tax, plus additional transportation costs. The Africans agreed to move if their wages were raised proportionately, but the government refused.

In the Dec. 11 shooting 12 Africans were killed and 32 seriously wounded. Among those killed was a half-brother of Mburumba Kerina, who is now in the U.S. to present Southwest Africa's plea

Vicky in Africa South, Cape Town

"Don't you understand? We're doing this for your own good!"

for UN intervention against South Africa's annexation of the trust territory. External Affairs Minister Eric Louw blamed the clash on UN interference in South Africa's affairs.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS: Despite this demonstration of diehard colonialism, most UN delegations felt that the Assembly had made substantial achievements in 1959.

Besides breaking the Poland-Turkey deadlock by a negotiated compromise, the Assembly unanimously approved:

- A disarmament proposal, jointly initiated by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and sponsored by all 82 members; it referred Premier Khrushchev's proposal for "general and complete disarmament" and other proposals to the ten-nation disarmament committee which will convene early next year.
- A U.S.-Soviet resolution establishing a permanent, 24-nation UN committee to promote peaceful uses of outer space.
- A U.S. proposal, seconded by the Soviet Union, which called for an international scientific conference on outer space problems to be held in 1960 or 1961.
- Several resolutions dealing with education in trust territories administered by UN members; these called for elimination of segregation in education, developing primary education "to the level enjoyed by the people in advanced countries" and participation by the peoples in activities of UN agencies.
- A Declaration of the Rights of the Child, drafted because "the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth"; it urged parents and governments to "recognize" among others the child's right to free and compulsory education, social security benefits, protection from "practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination" and special treatment in case of physical, mental or social handicaps.

Vicky, London Evening Standard

La Grande Illusion

FRENCH TEST OPPOSED: The Assembly by majority vote also opposed the French A-bomb test in the Sahara, against which a powerful movement for non-violent demonstration was building up with its center in Ghana. A move to increase the size of the Security Council and some other UN agencies because of the increased Asian-African membership was postponed when the Soviet Union argued it would be improper to revise the Charter in the absence of the Chinese People's Republic.

One of the most bitterly fought issues was a draft international convention on freedom of information, which attempted to draw a world charter of freedom of the press. Discussed in the Assembly's Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, this issue evoked sharp criticism by socialist, Asian, African and many Latin American nations of foreign reports in the Western press.

Asian-Africans have noted the Western propensity for slanting news from their country by using the practices of Western society as the norm. For instance, the Western press always refers to ideological conflicts and competition as between communism and caiptalism; the implication is that capitalism and democracy are synonymous, and any deviation from Western capitalistic practices means adherence to communism.

PREAMBLE DRAFTED: Afghanistan and other Asian and some Latin American nations complained that "sensational" Western press reports, sometimes based on obscure sources, have done them great harm. They wanted some international machinery through which maligned underdeveloped countries could talk back to the Western press.

After much debate, the committee drafted a preamble and the first article of a proposed convention of 19 articles before it adjourned until next year. The preamble said that "the free interchange of accurate, objective and comprehensive information and of opinions are fundamental rights," but that gathering information "should be free from pressure or dictation" and that the press has "a great responsibility and . . . the duty to respect the truth and to promote understanding among nations." The U.S., Britain and other Western states abstained from voting on this text.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS: Observers noted two significant developments during the session: (1) A greater balance between the East and the West and (2) the emergence of the Asian-African group as a non-aligned third force, to which many Latin American nations such as Cuba and Venezuela gravitated.

As a result, the U.S. no longer could count on a built-in two-thirds majority for its policies; it had to modify its position on several occasions. The socialist countries obtained a fairer proportion of representation on various committees. The underdeveloped lands dared to be more articulate and specific in their demands. And all proposals that advanced the prospects of relaxation of world tension commanded greater attention than ever before.

—Kumar Goshal

ADENAUER DECORATES GEORGE MEANY

Leaders of free labor clash on defense of the free world

DISAGREEMENTS between the U.S. and British governments are usually kept secret in the interest of public harmony within the grand anti-communist alliance. If any blows are struck below the belt, the moans are muffled by diplomacy. But when the British Trades Union Congress and the AFL-CIO battle over how best to implement their government's foreign policy, the disputes lack finesse.

The latest outbreak between the labor federations which occurred at the sixth biennial congress of the Intl. Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels Dec. 7-13, bore all the marks of amateur diplomats. American policy, enunciated by AFL-CIO president George Meany and master-minded by his foreign affairs adviser Jay Lovestone, seeks to ensure that unions in Africa, Asia and Latin America are committed to the "free world" against "communism." Meany is also critical of European union leaders for supporting a cold war thaw and for exchanging visits with Soviet union delegations.

TUC leaders oppose Meany's blind anti-communism. They support a summit meeting and general disarmament. They also believe that unions in uncommitted countries should be organized to improve the living standards of working people as a bulwark against "nationalism and communism." They often become touchy at Meany's references to Western colonialism in Africa.

STUBBORN MAN: Before the congress opened AFL-CIO leaders moved to oust ICFTU general secretary J. H. Oldenbroek because he had grown soft on communism. But Oldenbroek, who has been in office since 1949 when ICFTU was organized as a breakaway from the World Fedn. of Trade Unions, refused to resign. Also, Meany could find no candidate to oppose him in an election.

A special deputation including AFL-CIO vice president Walter Reuther visited Oldenbroek to find out his terms for resigning. Reuther is reported to have offered him handsome severance pay and a life pension at full salary. But Oldenbroek insisted on staying in office.

Just before the opening session Meany flew to Bonn to receive the Grand Cross, Second Class, of the Order of Merit of the Federal German Republic from Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. Lovestone also received the Cross of Merit, but without the sash and star awarded to Meany.

MEANY'S PROGRAM: Back in Brussels Meany riled the British with a speech on "peace and freedom." He denounced the "present propaganda campaign of Moscow for peaceful coexistence." He said the danger to peace was greater now than ten years ago. For ICFTU he proposed these guidlines for action: (1) Clear recognition of the communist danger; (2) strict adherence to moral principles, renouncing none for the sake of expediency and (3) determination that the "free world" must remain strong militarily until a disarmament agreement is reached.

He also suggested a five-point program as an ICFTU proposal to the forthcoming summit meeting:

- A practical disarmament plan effectively controlled and internationally inspected, including President Eisenhower's mutual aerial reconnaissance plan.
- Free elections under UN supervision in every area and territory in dispute, including Asia, Africa and Europe.
- A unified Germany through free elections.
- Total "dismantlement of the international communist organization and all national sections and subversive auxiliary bodies."
- Building the UN to eliminate colonialism and imperialism, "whether 19th century or the communist type."

ANGRY REPLY: TUC leaders felt Meany's barbs were aimed at them. British steel union leader Harry Douglass answered Meany in angry tones. He said that a summit meeting could hardly take place if Meany's truculent anti-communism prevailed. Douglass asked: "Is it any good in Asia, Africa or Latin America to preach anti-communism to empty bellies?"

In the corridors another battle raged between the British and Americans over the African unions. TUC officials wanted assurances that money granted to African unions would not be spent on organizing freedom movements. But Meany and Reuther argued that if the Africans were not granted a virtually autonomous organization within ICFTU, they would join an all-Africa union federation, outside all world federations and with no commitment to either side in the cold war.

Eccles, London Daily Worker

"I'm a director of 12 companies—I get a month's holiday from each!"

In November a conference in Ghana had urged such a federation.

On the floor the British lost out as the delegates approved a plan by Kenya's Tom Mboya which set up an African Regional Labor Organization within ICFTU and which granted one federation vice presidency to the Africans and a place on the executive board. In addition, all ICFTU programs for Africa will be channeled through the new African organization.

MEANY'S TIMING: In other actions a five-man committee was set up to bring in proposals to reorganize the secretariat in six months. Some thought that this meant Oldenbroek would resign in June, but others pointed out that four of the five on the committee were Oldenbroek supporters.

Also, the federation asked for a boycott on South African goods and condemned segregation in U.S. schools.

On his return to New York Meany called a press conference in his stateroom on the Queen Elizabeth to denounce the State Dept. for agreeing to encourage exchange visits between Soviet and American unionists. Arnold Beichman of the AFL-CIO international relations department explained the timing. He said Meany "makes it a rule of conduct not to criticize U.S. goverment actions while abroad."

BRIBES AND DEATH THREATS COULDN'T DO IT, BUT—

Militant Arkansas Negro weekly forced to fold

By Louis E. Burnham

ABOUT A YEAR after it had begun a career of militant journalism in 1941, the Arkansas **State Press** made a public reply to a private bribe offer. A spokesman for a group of Little Rock businessmen had promised a fat annual subsidy for advertising which the publishers could run or omit, on condition that they eliminate the strong demands for civil rights which had appeared in their early issues.

This was not the kind of "support" the publishers, Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Bates, wanted. In an editorial, they told their readers about the offer and announced: "The **State Press** is published in defense of and as a spokesman for the Arkansas Negro . . . We are not putting the Negro's constitutional rights on a bargaining block."

MRS. DAISY BATES
Will her home go next?

For 18 years this policy guided the outspoken little weekly. Though it never really prospered, it became the largest Negro newspaper in Arkansas, both in circulation and influence. It reached its peak circulation—about 21,000—about the time the Supreme Court handed down its 1954 decision outlawing public school segregation.

From that point on, the **State Press** became a target of the newly-organized white Citizens' Council. The segregationists intimidated and attacked the paper's delivery boys, seized and destroyed the papers. Negro school teachers and principals in rural areas were warned that if they continued to distribute the paper they would lose their jobs. They stopped.

By 1957 the **State Press** circulation was down to 7,500. But the Bateses held on. They believed their people needed a voice of their own, and they were determined to provide it—if the advertising would only hold out. Perhaps after the integration storm was over they would pick up their lost readers again.

FULL TREATMENT: But after September, 1957, when nine Negro children entered Central High School protected by Federal troops, the Citizens' Council rallied behind Gov. Orval E. Faubus for a stepped-up attack on the integration movement.

The children were harassed inside the school building. The NAACP at one point was defending its right to exist in 18 Arkansas courts. Mrs. Bates, the children's mentor and NAACP state president, was arrested for refusing to reveal the organization's membership list. Her home was bombed and stoned. Death threats poured over the phone "around the clock."

In all this, the segregationists did not neglect the **State Press.** They intimidated local advertisers, Negro and white, driving them out of the paper's pages; they organized a boycott of the products of national advertisers. When the national accounts found their sales dwindling throughout Arkansas, they cancelled long-standing contracts with the **State Press.**

FRIENDS HELP: Efforts of friends of the paper to make up the losses by taking out complimentary ads helped for a while. The NAACP national office bought an occasional full page for announcements of its program. But running a newspaper is costly. For more than a year the **State Press** continued to pile up debt at the rate of $1,000 a month. The sum was not gigantic, but it could be a formidable obligation for a small publication.

When eventually the local bank called in the mortgage on the building which housed the paper and ordered the Bateses to move, the publishers could hold on no longer: last month they discontinued publication of the **State Press.**

What will they do? Mrs. Bates is not sure. She hopes that the sale of linotype machines, presses and other equipment will enable them to meet the mortgage payments on their home, which they are also in danger of losing. She has little prospect of finding other work to do in Little Rock because, she said, "they wouldn't hire either one of us for dog catcher."

THE LAST DITCH: Nevertheless, Mrs. Bates said, she will try to stay on at least until the end of the 1959-60 school term. There are now eight Negro children in formerly-white Little Rock high schools, and reports indicate that they are being subjected to a campaign of daily abuse led by a small hard core of white students.

Mrs. Bates is determined to give them all the support she can. But she can no longer offer them the editorial backing of the Arkansas **State Press,** the fighting little paper which died of attrition after an 18-year battle.

THE MAN WHO SPOKE FOR THE NAZIS

The strange academic career of Doktor Edward V. Sittler

WHEN DR. EDWARD V. SITTLER resigned his position as associate professor of English and modern languages at the C. W. Post College of Long Island U. on Dec. 16, he brought to a close the latest episode in a checkered academic and political career. But he also foreclosed an immediate answer to the key question in a month-long controversy surrounding his latest employment: is the 43-year-old professor still a Nazi at heart?

The dispute began when veterans' groups and newspapers learned that Sittler, hired last September for a one-year term, had renounced his U.S. citizenship in 1939, joined the Nazi party in Germany, and served in Hitler's army and broadcast fascist propaganda on the Reich Radio during World War II.

University president Adm. Richard L. Conolly, retired, and Dean R. Gordon Hoxie of C. W. Post College defended their employment of Sittler. A "thorough" investigation of the professor's background, they said, revealed that he "has truly repented his very evident serious mistakes and that he has rededicated himself completely to American democratic principles."

IT WAS THOSE JEWS: Despite this assurance, a team of New York **Post** reporters conducted their own investigation of Sittler's current views. They reported that in a four-hour interview the professor told them: "History may condemn Hitler, but I can't. If you say he was insane later, I'll agree. But I do believe he had the good of his country at heart."

They also reported that Sittler said the only reason he could think of for the U.S. declaration of war against Germany in 1941 was "the influence of the Jewish community on President Roosevelt."

These revelations heightened the demands for action by the university. At a meeting attended by 65 of C. W. Post's 144 faculty members, Conolly vigorously defended the administration's stand. He said the issue was one of "academic freedom" and that the protests had originated from "sources outside the college."

DON QUIXOTE RIDES: Sittler denied the statements attributed to him in the **Post** story. He said he had gone to Germany to study in 1937 when many of his college acquaintances were going to Spain to fight in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. He described himself as an "American Don Quixote" who, when Germany launched the war in 1939, had an "impulse to lend a hand in the decisive hour of the country of my ancestors."

Asked how he had reacted to the Nazi's murder of the Jewish people, he said he hadn't believed the reports about concentration camps and atrocities, but had accepted the official Nazi story that all Jews "were being resettled in Poland." He admitted, "I was a dupe in that," and confessed that "had I known then what we all know now, nothing would have persuaded me to associate myself in even the most nominal way with a program which could end under the stigma of such atrocities."

OPPOSITION MUTE: On the basis of Conolly's persuasion and Sittler's explanation, the faculty adopted a motion supporting the administration in its support of the professor. The vote was 26 for, 3 against, 18 abstentions and several not voting.

Immediately after the faculty meeting Dean Hoxie met with two groups of 1,000 students and pressed for support. The LIU student paper, **Seawanhaka,** noted that students of the C. W. Post campus "are in accord with the administration." It pointed out, however, "that there is some opposition to Dr. Sittler, but it has remained mute."

Outside the campus the opposition remained vocal. The two New York **Post** reporters offered to turn over to the college the verbatim notes of their interview with Sittler and a 15-page transcription of the notes. They insisted they had quoted the professor accurately.

THE OTHER TWO: Veterans' organizations and New York's U.S. Senators—Jacob K. Javits and Kenneth B. Keating—began to question the circumstances of

DR. AND MRS. EDWARD SITTLER
If only it weren't for the Jews

Sittler's re-entry into the U.S. The professor had been brought back to the country in 1946 to testify in the treason trials of Douglas Chandler and Robert H. Best, two Americans who were convicted for broadcasting for the Nazis—and were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Sittler, still a German citizen, was never indicted for his offenses and successfully resisted efforts of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to deport him. In 1954 he traveled to Cuba, re-entered the U.S. under the British immigrant quota (his wife was born in Britain of German origin), and applied for re-naturalization.

Under the urgings of the "outside sources" which had initiated the protest, Conolly decided to supplement his original "thorough" investigation with another one.

WELL, NOW, MAYBE: At the same time Dean Hoxie began, with obvious reluctance, to revise his views on academic freedom. When reminded that C. W. Post College had recently fired a professor because of membership in a left-wing organization listed by the Attorney General, he had said he would never hire a person who had been a Communist. Now, he said, he might consider hiring such a person "if the Justice Dept. cleared such a man . . . and if I'm convinced that he's really regenerated."

But before the university could embark on a second investigation of Sittler or a deeper estimate of the meaning of academic freedom, Sittler halted matters with his resignation. Conolly accepted it "in order to relieve the college and the university of embarrassment," and with the assurance that "in defending Dr. Sittler the university in no sense had any sympathy for his former Nazi viewpoint, but was concerned only for his rights as an individual and member of an academic faculty."

ACLU ASKS REVERSAL: The New York **Post** said, "The college's officials could hardly have found a shabbier reason for a dubious decision." The New York Civil Liberties Union urged both university and professor to withdraw their actions. But Sittler's mind was made up. He hinted that he might go to West Germany "if I got a very fine chance to teach" there. The day after his resignation a group of construction workers booed him as he left the offices of the Naturalization and Immigration Service.

In the heat of the controversy, Mrs. Sittler had upbraided the **Post** reporters and said: "Ever since we came here we have tried to live in peace with the Jews in America. It is impossible."

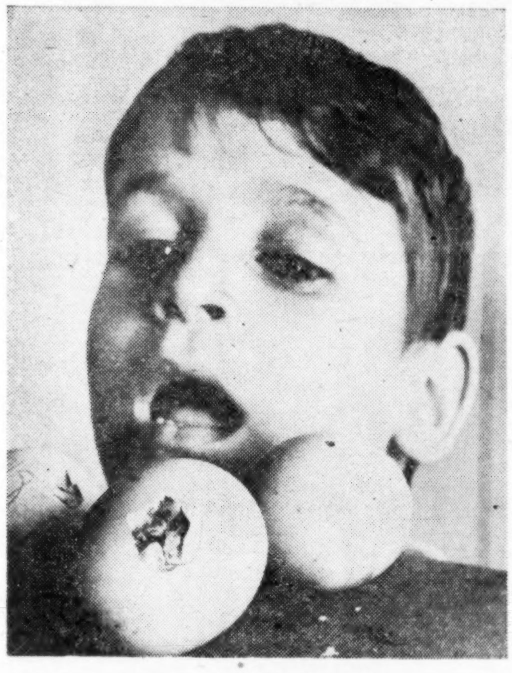
Economic parley on peace to be held in N.Y.C. Jan. 16

A CONFERENCE on **The Economic Challenge of Disarmament** will be held under the auspices of The Faculty of Social Science, Sat., Jan. 16 from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., New York City. Theme of the conference will be the effect on the American economy of a full-scale disarmament program.

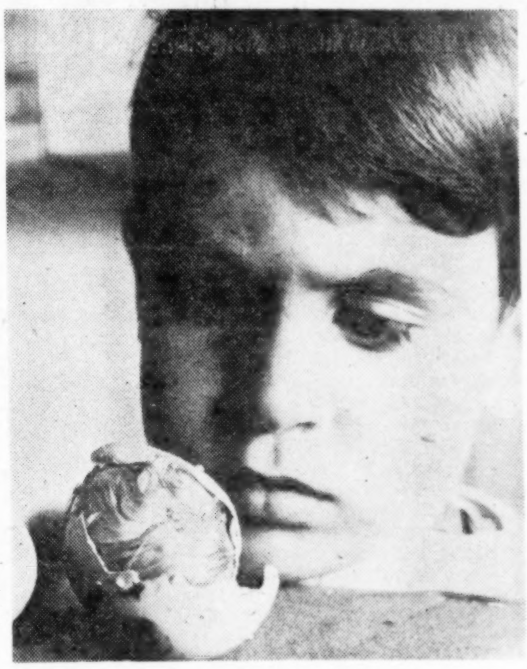
Victor Perlo, Paul Sweezy, Otto Nathan, J. M. Budish, Hyman Lumer and others have been invited to participate, and papers have been solicited from Paul Baran, Maurice Dobb, Eugen Varga and Jurgen Kuczynski. The public is invited to both morning and afternoon sessions at $1 for each session. Further information can be obtained from The Faculty, 80 E. 11th St.

A boy named Jay and the miracle of new life

CITY CHILDREN KNOW that both chicken and egg come from the supermarket, but even with this knowledge the age-old riddle of which came first, the chicken or the egg, remains for all kids—city or country—to ponder. At the International Animal Nursey at Coney Island (Surf Ave. and West 8th St.) in Brooklyn, three-year-old Jay Blumkin recently watched the wonder of life unfold before his eyes. The nursery has a wide variety of animals that children can pet and feed, in addition to its "Life Begins" exhibit, where visitors like Jay can watch the chicks emerge from eggs. Photos are by United Press International's Maurice Maurel.



1. Somebody broke the shell . . .



2. And something's coming out . . .

3. Looks all funny inside . . .

4. E-e-e-e. Here it comes . . .

5. It's a real chick . . .

6. And so soft and sweet.

LAWS IN 18 STATES COVER HALF THE PEOPLE

How the states stand on anti-discrimination

ANTI-DISCRIMINATION laws in 18 states cover slightly more than half the U.S. population, according to a report recently prepared by the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress. In 16 of the states the laws have empowered special agencies to enforce prohibitions against discrimination based on race, religion or national origin. Two states, Indiana and Kansas, rely exclusively on persuasion, rather than penalties, to afford their citizens equal opportunities.

Eight of the state agencies (Alaska, California, Michigan, Minnesota, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin) have jurisdiction only over employment. Three others (Colorado, Connecticut and Rhode Island) also embrace the fields of public accommodation and housing. In five states (Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Oregon and Washington) the agencies have additional jurisdiction over education.

HOW THEY WORK: Usually the enforcement procedure follows the pattern adopted by New York and New Jersey, the states which, in 1945, adopted the first two anti-discrimination statutes. An aggrieved person may complain to the state agency of an alleged violation. The agency, if the complaint seems well founded, attempts a settlement through conciliation. This failing, the agency may hold a formal hearing resulting in dismissal of the complaint or an order directing compliance. Violation of such an order, once it is affirmed by a state court, may be punished as contempt of court.

Though the statutes cover 54% of the nation's population, only 23% of Negroes fall under their benefits. None of the Southern states has enacted anti-discrimination laws. Among the 18 states which have are to be found 59% of other non-whites and 82% of the nation's Jewish population.

FEW COMPLAINTS FILED: The states' annual appropriations for enforcing the laws are still paltry, ranging from $2,000 in New Mexico to $816,777 in New York. Low budgets and lack of vigor in enforcement help to explain the small number of complaints handled by the agencies. During a period of one year, there was only one in New Mexico, while New York, with a population of 16,229,000, processed only 941.

The AJC report lists the names and addresses of the 18 state agencies. It may be obtained from the American Jewish Congress, 15 E. 84th St., New York 28, N.Y.

Under socialism—no dishpan hands!

IN A RECENT ARTICLE in Moscow's **Literary Gazette**, a discussion was begun on the question of domestic workers in socialist society. According to the writer, the increasing scarcity of domestic help is placing an unfair burden on working women, who "have a legitimate right to rest and diversion" but are compelled to do household chores at the end of the day. He suggests, as a solution, full-time domestic workers employed by apartment houses, who would not work for individual families but "for the State like all the rest of us."

He also suggests that residents of large apartment buildings and units should elect committees to set up their own food shops and canteens, to lighten the tasks of housewives. In this way working women would have "time to cultivate and divert themselves."

April in Paris?

(Continued from Page 1)

ed economic aid to underdeveloped countries and non-interference in the internal affairs of any country. The last two points were included in the agenda at de Gaulle's insistence.

At the Western Big Four conferences de Gaulle seemed to have won the most concessions. Macmillan was said to have persuaded the others to consider the April summit meeting as the first of a series. Eisenhower already shared this view. Adenauer, who will not participate in the summit talks, reportedly gave in, hoping that the results of the Presidential elections in the U.S. next November will prevent further meetings.

THE "GLORY" OF FRANCE: De Gaulle had his own reasons for agreeing on April.

Eccles, London Daily Worker

He has been obsessed with the vision of making France a great power again, rich in overseas resources, having a voice in all world problems. He had originally demanded that the summit meeting take up all international issues at once; since that would be patently unacceptable, he agreed to a series of top-level talks. It was at his suggestion that Paris was chosen as the site; since Soviet Premier Khrushchev is scheduled to visit France in March and de Gaulle plans to visit Britain and the U.S. in April prior to the summit conference, it would effectively focus world attention on him.

But the most important concession de Gaulle extracted was on the issue of pooled aid to underdeveloped lands. He has stressed this idea before. There is no certainty that it will bear fruit, but de Gaulle harps on it because he hopes (1) to divert some of this aid to develop France's North African mineral resources, so that he would not have to be so dependent on West German capital; (2) to restore French influence and commerce to some degree in lost Asian colonies now dominated by the U.S.; (3) to prevent aid going to areas unfriendly to France; (4) to share in whatever benefits accrue from extending aid elsewhere.

De Gaulle added the "non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries" plank to the agenda because of bitter memories of Indo-China, Tunisia and Morocco. U.S. abstention on the Asian-African resolution on Algeria in the UN recently made him furious. He wants to protect French interests in North Africa from what he considers Soviet as well as American penetration.

PLEAS FOR AMNESTY: On the last lap of his tour, Eisenhower left Paris on Dec. 20 for an even hotter spot: Madrid. Many protests had been made against the President's visit to Spain's dictator Francisco Franco. Since these failed to sway him, he was asked at least to use his influence to obtain amnesty for Spanish political prisoners.

Madrid presented to Eisenhower a charming facade which hid a brutal suppression of all political dissent, the torture of political prisoners and economic chaos. In an article in the London **Spectator** (Nov. 13), Ian Gilmour detailed the condition of the people and the country under Franco.

Gilmour said that guided missiles will make U.S. bases in Spain obsolete by 1963. He said: "Whether their military usefulness outweighs the damage to the American reputation elsewhere in the world and the revelation of American hypocrisy about freedom and democracy is at least doubtful." He added:

"Whatever the effects of American policy elsewhere, they have been dismal in Spain. Anti-Americanism is as general and as strong as anti-Francoism . . . Most of it is due to the knowledge that as much as the Spanish army the U.S. government is responsible for the present existence of the Franco regime. It would be hard to think of a better reason for unpopularity."

"A DANGEROUS AFFAIR": On Dec. 14 Franco barred British Liberal MP Jeremy Thorpe from entering Spain with a petition signed by 105 prominent Britons asking for an amnesty for political prisoners. On Dec. 15, speaking for anti-Franco Spanish emigrés in London, Oxford University professor Salvador de Madariaga charged that a wave of political repression was sweeping Spain on the eve of Eisenhower's visit. He called the visit "an extremely dangerous affair for the moral defense of the West."

Last month a letter signed by "groups of democratic Spanish University students and faculty members and laborers" was sent to the White House. The letter deplored Eisenhower's visit "just at a time when freedom is non-existent in Spain." It reminded the President of the old Spanish tradition "whereby a host is obliged to accede to the wishes of his guest" and urged him to request "the liberation of all those who remain confined in our country's prisons, for the sole crime of having proclaimed, by their actions and in some cases by their thoughts alone, their hope for a restoration of democracy in Spain some day."

In a similar letter, documented with many cases, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade asked the President to add his "voice to the call for amnesty."

POWER POLITICS: Eisenhower's last port of call was Casablanca, Morocco. Here, too, his welcome left much to be desired. Demand for greater democratic rights have precipitated such a bitter conflict between King Mohammed V and the opposition—supported by the Moroccan Trade Union Federation—that the King had refused trade union members the right to present bouquets of flowers to the President or to raise banners of welcome.

All in all, what started out as a peace and good will mission and as a demonstration of Western democracy seemed to be ending in a display of old-fashioned power politics, acute rivalry for raw material sources and markets and fierce struggle for military domination.

With all his reputation for ability to mediate differences, Eisenhower apparently failed to modify the resurgent ambitions of de Gaulle and Adenauer. His grasping of Franco's hand left a bitter taste in the mouth of all believers in democracy. Should he now invite Franco to visit the U.S.—as Franco's powerful Washington lobby is reportedly angling for—it would deal a severe blow to America's reputation abroad as a democracy.

Share the wealth

PHILIP NOEL-BAKER, 70-year-old Labor Member of the British Parliament and long-time campaigner for international disarmament, donated $33,600 of the $42,613 Nobel Peace Prize money he has received to aid disarmament: $28,000 to the United Nations Association in Britain and $5,600 to the World Federation of United Nations Associations.

Reuters, 12/12/59.

THE FREE WORLD'S RECRUITING AGENTS REACH INTO GREECE

Outside a courtroom in Athens, a news photographer is roughed up by an oversize bodyguard employed by four Greek "tourist agents" charged with recruiting men for the army of dictator Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, as it is laughingly called. Court proceedings against the men were interrupted when their bodyguards attacked reporters covering the case. The thug above was arrested after he had done his job on the cameraman, a stringer for UPI.

SUBSTITUTE FOR COMMISSION

Group of volunteers to get rights reports

SOUTHERN NEGROES who have been barred from voting, and who were deprived of the opportunity to testify before the Federal Civil Rights Commission in Louisiana last summer, will have a chance to tell their stories in the nation's capital on Jan. 31.

Four major civil rights organizations—the Tuskegee (Ala.) Civic Assn., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the United Christian Movement of northern Louisiana, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund—will sponsor on that date a public hearing before a Volunteer Civil Rights Commission composed of six prominent citizens. Negroes from Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida and possibly Tennessee will testify concerning the actions of state officials and private citizens which have prevented them from registering or purged their names from voting lists.

FOR STRONGER PLANS: In announcing the hearing, the SCEF pointed out that a Federal hearing scheduled for Shreveport, La., had been blocked by a Federal District Court ruling that the Civil Rights Commission's procedures were invalid because they did not afford registrars the opportunity to cross-examine their accusers. The Supreme Court recently agreed to review this ruling and will hear arguments on Jan. 18.

With the Federal Commission temporarily stymied, the Volunteer Civil Rights Commission will provide a way for the voteless Negroes to tell their stories to Congress and the rest of the country. The project is intended to stimulate the passage of civil rights legislation in the coming session of the 86th Congress.

One wins, but four others lose

IN WIDELY SEPARATE actions, the Federal courts recently affirmed three contempt convictions growing out of refusals to answer questions of Congressional investigating committees, dismissed another, and refused review of a conviction under the Taft-Hartley Act.

- The U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, sitting in New Orleans, upheld the conviction of Frank Wilkinson, secretary of the Los Angeles Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties. Relying on the First Amendment, Wilkinson had refused to answer questions by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in an Atlanta, Ga., hearing in July, 1958. He and Carl Braden, field secy. of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, who was also cited at the same hearing, claimed that the real purpose of the investigation was to embarrass Southern advocates of integration. Braden's conviction was upheld earlier. The cases will be appealed to the Supreme Court.
- In Buffalo, N. Y., a Federal court jury convicted ex-Communist Sidney Turoff of contempt because of his refusal to give the House Committee names of members of the "steel section" of the Communist party and the name of a person to whom he had delivered printing equipment. In a companion case, Judge Harold P. Burke dismissed a one-count indictment against another former Communist, Sidney H. Ingerman. The judge ruled that the Committee's demand that Ingerman name all the Communists he knew was too broad and that questions must be pertinent to the subject matter under inquiry.
- The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed a contempt conviction of Arthur McPhaul, former executive secretary of the Detroit chapter of the Civil Rights Congress. McPhaul in 1952 had refused to surrender CRC membership lists to the House Committee. Upon conviction in the Federal District Court, he was sentenced to nine months in jail and fined $1,000. Now free on $10,000 bail, he announced that he would appeal to the Supreme Court.
- The Supreme Court on Dec. 14 refused to review the 1949 conviction of Walter C. Lohman Jr., a union official charged with filing a false non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act. At the time of his conviction Lohman was an officer of Local 768 of the independent United Electrical Workers in Dayton, Ohio. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

BOOKS

A guide to Thoreau

IT IS A CENTURY since a small-town New England lecture audience heard Henry David Thoreau deliver his first defense of John Brown. It is 105 years since the unprofitable publication of his **Walden** and 110 years since his call for **Civil Disobedience** was first printed.

Now the latter, has become a world-famous revolutionary classic, **Walden** has gone through 130 editions, part of Thoreau's **Journal** has been publishd in 14 large volumes, there have been more than 24 book-length biographies of him and 17 book-length studies, in addition to numerous master's dissertations, doctoral theses, essays and periodical pieces on the man and his works. It would seem that a guide to this extensive commentary on Thoreau might be useful and **A Thoreau Handbook*** by Professor Walter Harding, secretary of the Thoreau Society, provides this.

Although the **Handbook** is aimed at providing a reference source for specializing students, it can also give the general reader a bird's eye view of an overcrowded critical scene. Its summaries make it relatively easy to scan a mass of opinions on Thoreau. What strikes this

HENRY THOREAU
A man and his work together

reader, after such a survey, is that here, as elsewhere in the story of art and criticism, we find that the critics cannot agree on what, if anything, attracts the public—and a swarm of critics—to the man and his work.

SCHOLARSHIP and criticism seem unable to tell what qualities, if any, made Thoreau great, if he was great. But it does tell us that he was not outstanding in art, science or philosophy. We learn from the commentators that he was one of the first to make observations on nature the subject of serious prose, that he was one of the first "nature writers," an accomplishment that hardly accounts for his fame.

Although he turned out good sentences, we are told that they had no proper relation to each other and that "he has been continuously criticized for the formlessness of his works." He was not an especially keen naturalist nor was he a comprehensive or altogether reliable observer. He was neither a philosophical innovator nor a systematizer.

His second- or third-hand Kantian transcendentalism looked no better on him than it had on Carlisle and Emerson. This purveyor of unsatisfactory art and mediocre science achieved only the creation of himself, according to one modern American critic, and executed an elaborate portrait of that self in his **Journal.** The numerous literary attempts to re-draw Thoreau suggest that his self-portrait has not satisfied his more critical and scholarly readers.

ONE SOURCE of trouble for critical analysis seems to be the fact that the sum of the impressive whole that we think of as Thoreau cannot be added up out of its unimpressive parts. Unenthusiastic judgments on him as artist, scientist and philosopher are paralleled by reserved opinions on Thoreau, the man.

If he protested against Victorian values—or lack of values—by preferring nature to petty bourgeois social life and by spending a couple of years as a recluse at Walden Pond, he was not especially original in this. The times had produced other solitaries—some of them in the woods near Concord, too.

If he refused to pay taxes as a protest against slavery, and went to jail for it, so did Bronson Alcott—and three years earlier. And there were other apologists for John Brown, just as there were more active Abolitionists than Thoreau.

THERE IS A DEEPER source of difficulty, I believe, for the scholars and critics who have tried to take Thoreau's measure. This comes from the idea that while a man and his works may not be entirely separable, in the field of the arts it is the work which is invariably most important, which is the sought-for end, while the man is no more than the vehicle or means to this end.

It seems to this reader that it was just such non-humanistic positions that Thoreau opposed most vehemently for himself and for mankind. And in this he was far from sitting out his existence as a model for a self-portrait.

He consciously spent his life and works dramatizing the idea that man and works should not be separated. To him the beautiful and valuable, the righteous, the stimulating and the satisfying (or what I believe to be the same thing, the esthetic) could and should be lived as well as worked at. This is wha. he was trying to demonstrate.

HIS LECTURES, essays and books and the extensive **Journal** then appear as dialogue and stage directions and as a moralizing Greek chorus for the life that he had set himself to perform. His rejections of middle-class evaluations of the moral and the ethical, his temporary seclusions, his acts of civil disobedience and of defending John Brown, which marked him as just another eccentric to his fellow townsmen, also were the unifying synthesis of man and work. They made the unimpressive parts of Thoreau into an impressive and memorable whole.

Thoreau's preference, on the human side, for the emotionally genuine, even if inefficient, over any rationalistic alternatives or substitutes (such as pointless industry and conformity) may be what has put off so much of the criticism from a scientific age. As far as I know, he did not argue explicitly against the scientific view and, in the latter part of his life, admired and tried to emulate the scientific naturalists. Nevertheless, he lived all of his adult life as if living were an esthetic problem as much as a logical one; something to be solved through art as well as through science.

THE FUTURE may decide that the strangest thing about all this is that it has seemed so strange to us. Living as if each individual life were sensually important—not in terms of brute feeling and animalistic satisfactions but in terms of emotions in a culture's highest esthetic—is no stranger and no newer than the record of martyrs and saints of the far past and of many of our greatest men and women since then.

It is the story of the John Brown who acted into American political life the art-derived emotives of brotherhood and freedom and of indivisible human dignity. That this way was also Thoreau's way is strongly suggested by his instant recognition of it in the Brown of Harper's Ferry.

It is strange that, one hundred years after, we still read between the lines of criticism the old exclamations, "Mad John Brown! Misguided, impractical Thoreau!" How much of history and of human magnificence has been impractical or mad, has been "reasonable" only in hindsight. What would a theory of probability have made, in advance, of the detailed historical reality that we know?

IT WOULD have been altogether irrational to have bet, before the fact, on so much that has come to pass, on so much that has led to our commonplace reality. It is inherently improbable, looking forward rather than backward, that someone like Jesus, in ancient Judea, would voice a challenge that finally shook the all-powerful Roman Empire; that a reckless Luther or Bruno would finally shake the omnipotent Church; that such upstarts as Cromwell might cancel the divine right of kings; that a few farmers of Concord were to shoot away a large part of the British Empire; that a manifesto by a pair of obscure Germans could predict and stimulate world changes.

More recent "irrationalities" leading to improbable results are Dublin's Easter Week and Gandhi's non-violent civil disobedience and Russian intellectuals and peasants and Chinese intellectuals and peasants (all calling themselves an industrial proletariat) suddenly shaking off the past in one-third of the world.

ON THE FACE OF IT, a non-emotional, non-esthetic, that is, a strictly rational species could hardly have produced such wild gamblers. And on a predictive basis, Nineteenth Century America would not have produced its Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman and Abraham Lincoln and its John Brown and Henry Thoreau.

If we consider men as partly esthetic creatures—and I believe Thoreau would have liked the essentially democratic idea of bringing the arts down from the class and clerical walls, out of the fine leather bindings and into life—then Thoreau's time with its share of beautifully good men, may stand in living art with the Golden Ages of the past.

If Harding's **Handbook** helps to reduce commentary to its proper place and bring readers to Thoreau again, its existence will have been more than justified.

—**Robert Joyce**

**A THOREAU HANDBOOK, by Walter Harding. New York University Press, N.Y. 229 pp. $4.50.*

DON'T MISS THE NEW FILM "ON THE BEACH"
In a scene from the Stanley Kramer production, Gregory Peck, as a submarine captain, gives last minute instructions to a crew member going ashore in desolated San Diego looking for signs of life in an atomized world. See the Spectator, p. 12, for further comment.

How to begin a new world

PEACE MEANS the beginning of a new world;
Peace means the whole world like one country . . .

It means that the strong respect the weak,
The great respect the small,
The many respect the few. . . .

Peace is like a mother to those who have suffered;
Peace after war is like sleep after a long journey. . . .

It is like spring after winter;
It brings sunshine into the world;
It is like sweet music after harsh sounds.

—Pupils of the Lincoln School, New York City

Our Sholem

A REAL FIND in booklets for the young is **Our Sholem Aleichem,** written and illustrated by Herbert Kruckman for Kinderbuch Publications, Box 388, Madison Square Station, New York 10, 75c. A 32-page text on pages sized 5½ by 8¼ inches, bound on the short side, is divided into a wide-measure running story of Sholem Aleichem's life, side-by-side with a narrower column on each page presenting excerpts from his writings reprinted on tint blocks, giving a background of several colors throughout the book. The illustrations are plentiful and all enjoyable.

Europe, Anyone?

Join Peggy Middleton
London County Councilor
on the

GUARDIAN TOUR

to

England, the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, Sweden and Finland!

45 Wonderful Days!

Special Events!

$1,795 Complete!

For Information call or write:

National Guardian

197 E. 4th St. • N.Y. 9 • OR 3-3800

Denver 'conspiracy'

(Continued from Page 1)

He admitted that the more reports he filed with the FBI, the more they paid him. In six years he was paid $13,352.49 by the government.

TWO DISMISSED: Another witness was James E. Peterson, former union staff member who is now Director of Industrial Relations for the Utah division of Kennecott Copper (one of the struck companies). He said he left the union in 1949, "because I no longer knew whether I was doing the right thing or not. I was very confused and upset."

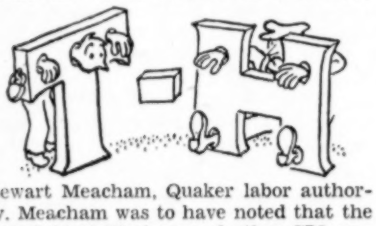
But his letter of resignation read by defense counsel to the jury said he was aware of the importance of the fight the union and "other progressive organizations are waging against the forces of evil, reaction and fascism." The letter concluded: "I want you to know I have thoroughly enjoyed being part of the great organization — fighting for the workers against the boss."

In his testimony Lautner told of a CP meeting in New York where, he said, it was decided to comply with the T-H oaths. But he did not mention any of the defendants or the union.

After the government rested its case, Judge Arraj dismissed charges against Asbury Howard and Jack C. Marcotti, regional director, for lack of evidence.

TESTIMONY BARRED: For its case the defense offered 20 witnesses. Community leaders, including members of local Chambers of Commerce, testified to the good character and reputation of the defendants and the union. Rank-and-file union leaders explained that the decision to comply with the T-H oath was made at an executive board meeting and later at a convention.

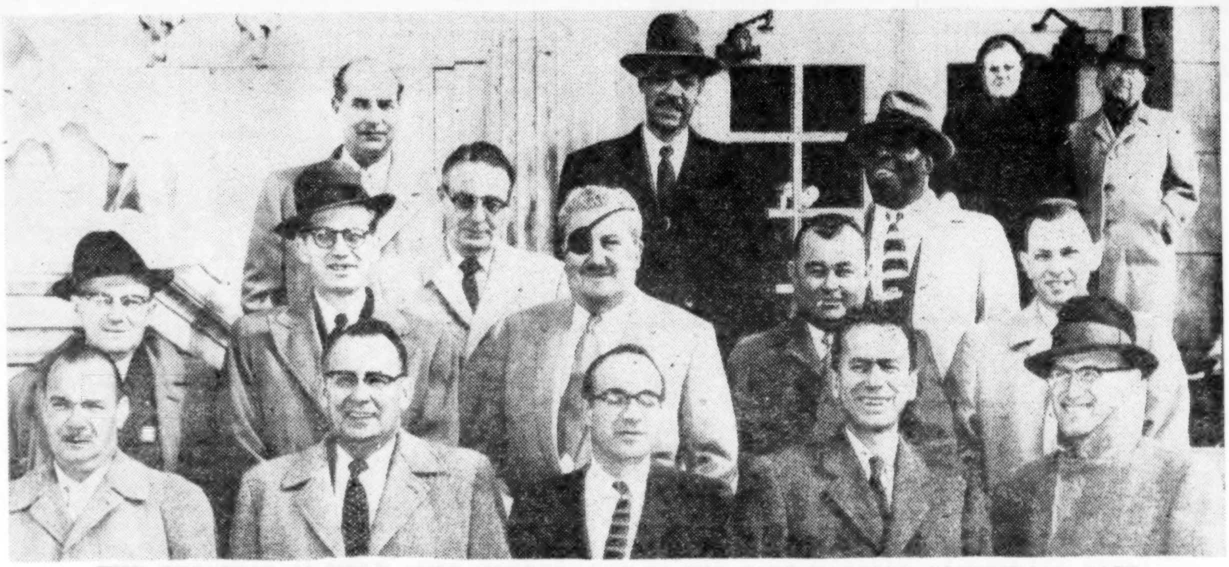
But the court refused to hear Rev.



Stewart Meacham, Quaker labor authority. Meacham was to have noted that the United Steel Workers and other CIO unions not accused of "communism" had at first also refused to comply with the oaths but changed their policy about the time Mine-Mill did.

Other testimony which would have contradicted statements by government witnesses was also not admitted.

BIZARRE: A defense pamphlet pointed out "some bizarre angles" to the case. Three of the defendants never signed oaths during the time of the alleged conspiracy. Also, the T-H oath provision was repealed in September by the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act.



THE ORIGINAL 14 MINE, MILL DEFENDANTS IN THE TAFT-HARTLEY CONSPIRACY CASE
Left to right, bottom row: Albert Skinner, Jesse Van Camp, Albert Pezatti (he pleaded no contest), Irving Dichter and Harold Sanderson. Middle row: Graham Dolan (he pleaded no contest), James H. Durkin (no longer with the union), Chase Powers, Maurice Travis (no longer with the union), Jack C. Marcotti (his case was thrown out) and Alton Lawrence (he pleaded no contest). Top row: Charles Wilson, Raymond Dennis and Asbury Howard (his case was thrown out).

It added: "A conspiracy indictment is a device which has always been favored by anti-labor government prosecutors. It permits them to drag in witnesses and evidence which would be excluded in an ordinary criminal trial and which often have little or nothing to do with the individual defendants."

The trial marked the seventh time the government has moved against the union since it was expelled from the CIO ten years ago:

- In 1952 union leaders were called before a Senate witch-hunting committee headed by the late Pat McCarran (D-Nev.).
- In 1954 Clinton Jencks, then union international representative, was convicted of signing a false T-H affidavit on the testimony of Harvey Matusow who later recanted. The case was thrown out later in a historic Supreme Court decision.
- The same year the Natl. Labor Relations Board moved to decertify the union as bargaining agent at the Precision-Scientific Co. in Chicago on the ground that Maurice Travis, then union secretary-treasurer, had signed a false T-H oath. This was also reversed later by the Supreme Court.
- In 1955 Travis was convicted of signing a false oath. But the case was thrown out on appeal.
- In 1957 the Subversive Activities Control Board held five months of hearings on charges that the union was "communist-dominated." The hearings are still in recess.
- Travis was tried and convicted again on the same charges. An appeal is pending in the Supreme Court.

DOUBLE DUTY: During the trial some of the defendants had to shuttle between the courtroom and the bargaining table. The strike reached a critical stage during the trial. It began in August after the non-ferrous industry's Big Five—Kennecott, American Smelting & Refining, Anaconda, Phelps Dodge and Magma—echoing the steel companies' line, refused to grant wage increases and demanded changes in the work rules. The union pointed out that industry profits were at record levels and that changes in the work rules would mean loss of jobs.

After weeks of fruitless negotiations the union struck. When the government moved against the union leaders, it seemed like a fight for survival. Despite the odds, the union held firm.

The first break came early this month when the union reached agreement on a 22½-cent-an-hour package with American Smelting & Refining. On Dec. 16 union negotiators agreed to a similar settlement with Kennecott. The other companies seem likely to fall into line.

TREASURY DRAINED: But the strike and the trial have bankrupted the union treasury. Some help has come from other independent unions like the United Electrical Workers and the West Coast longshoremen as well as from some AFL-CIO locals. But top AFL-CIO brass, continuing their vendetta against Mine-Mill, have offered no help. In fact, some unions intensified efforts to raid Mine-Mill locals.

One labor leader got the point. James Leary, AFL-CIO assistant regional director in Montana, told a carpenters convention: "Every time Mine-Mill has to hit the bricks the Attorney General of the United States or his staff start these trials against officers. They don't give a damn whether they are communists, but it makes good reading when these people are on strike."

He added: "What we have to do is get out amongst ourselves and get back to the old revival spirit we had when we built the labor movement . . . we must forget some of our differences and get together."

Some of the old revival spirit as well as generous financial contributions are needed by the Mine-Mill Defense Committee, 941 E. 17th Ave., Denver, Colo.

Some believe the union may come through its current woes stronger than ever. Business Week summed up: "Mine-Mill, like Ishmael grown lean and tough in its desert, [is] perhaps the leanest and toughest of all unions."

RESORTS

"Max, get this ad right!"
YPPAH WEN RAEY!
And a Happy New Year to you too!
CHAITS, ACCORD 1, N.Y.
Kerhonkson 3758
(Washington's Birthday reservations going fast. Hurry!)

ALLABEN HOTEL
Monmouth & 5 St., Lakewood, N. J.
Modern - Intimate - Fabulous Classical Record Library - Free Ice Skating - Allaben Ensemble - Mort Freeman - Jewish-American Cuisine. Entertainment.
Jack & Serena Schwartz
Tel. Lakewood 6-1222.
Reserve NOW for HOLIDAYS!

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

GENERAL

WALTER LOWENFELS
interprets
THE POET'S VISION
a creative evening with a poet who can't be "beat!"
Topics: 1) Poetry in the Modern Manner
2) Walt Whitman's Story of the Civil War
East Coast dates open in January, February
Midwest and Coast dates open March and April
For details write or wire
Phoenix Bookshop
18 Cornelia St. N.Y.C. 14
Order: AMERICAN VOICES by Lowenfels, $2.50
SONG OF PEACE, by Lowenfels and Refregier, $5; Paper $1.35

CHICAGO

IN CHICAGO
Insurance—Every Kind
Professional Service
Plus Personal Interest
LEON KATZEN
330 S. Wells Street, Chicago
HArrison 7-5496

PUBLICATIONS

December issue of
VANGUARD!
Read:
- Analysis of the Communist Party Political Draft Resolution
- New Situation in the Struggles of the Cuban People
- The Un-American Hearings in New York and Puerto Rico
Single issue, 10c yearly sub $1
Write: VANGUARD
Box 137, New York, N.Y.

LOS ANGELES

PROGRESSIVE OPTICIANS
WM L. GOLTZ and Staff
6221 Wilshire Blvd.
Wilshire Medical Arts Bldg.
Street Floor
LOS ANGELES WEbster 5-1107
Between Fairfax & Crescent Hts.

LOS ANGELES

List your property with us!
- Homes - Income
- Expert Service
- Buyers with Cash
- Multiple Listings
Franchi Realty
706 No. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles 29 NO 3-9561

ATLAS OPTICAL CO.
M. Franklin (Maury) Mitchell
OPTICIAN
610 S. Broadway Los Angeles
Suite 405 MAdison 2-3530
QUICK SERVICE—LOW PRICES
Park Free—1 hr., Pershing Sq. Gar.

UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM
Friday, January 8,—8 p.m.
First Unitarian Church
2936 W. 8th St., L. A.
HARRY BRIDGES, President, I.L.W.U.
"LABOR AND THE COLD WAR"
Admission $1. Question Period

NEW YORK

EMIL GILELS
Soloist
with the
MOSCOW STATE SYMPHONY
Guardian Night
Monday, Jan. 18
CARNEGIE HALL
For Information Call:
OR 3-3800

CITY CAMERA EXCHANGE
11 John St., N.Y.C.
(Between Broadway & Nassau)
8 mm Kodachrome roll: $2.99 with processing. • Rent a camera from $1 per day.
PHONE: DI 9-2956

JACK R. BRODSKY
ANY KIND OF INSURANCE
auto, fire, burglary, life, annuities, accident, hospitalization, compensation, etc. Phone: GR 5-3826
799 Broadway, N.Y.C. 3—(11th St.)

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

MAVERICK NEW YEAR CELEBRATION for Peace, Civil Rights, Good Will and Good Humor! Biggest social event of Left in years! Dancing, fun, food and frolic! Key Ballroom, 32 W. Randolph, Thurs., Dec. 31. Limited reservations. Call FA 4-0380 after 6 p.m., or mail $5 for couple, $3 single, $2 student, to Rm. 709, 1553 Madison St., Chicago 7.

MEMORIAL MEETING for **MOSES RESNIKOFF**, former manager of Morning Freiheit in Chicago for 25 years, Sun., Jan. 3, 2 p.m., at Albany Park Cultural Center, 5818 N. Kedzie Av. Prominent speakers. Ausp: Resnikoff Memorial Committee.

LOS ANGELES

SCOTT NEARING Series
Four Monday Evenings 8 p.m.
Jan. 4: "USA, Last of the Empires?"
Jan. 11: "The USSR After Sputnik"
Jan. 18: "China's Communes"
Jan. 25: "The Choices Before Us"
Channing Hall, Unitarian Church
2936 W. 8th St. Course Tickets $2.50
Single admission $1.

UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM
Fri., Jan. 8, at 8 p.m.
First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St.
HARRY BRIDGES, President Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union,
"LABOR AND THE COLD WAR."
Admission $1. Question Period

HAPPY NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY!
Featuring: "Scandals of '59"
Thurs., Dec. 31, from 9:30 p.m. on.
3339-41 Descanso Drive. Don: $1
Ausp: SWP and "The Militant"

MINNEAPOLIS

Celebrate New Year's Eve
with the Socialist Workers Party
Thurs., Dec. 31, 9 p.m.
322 Hennepin Av.—2nd floor
Food — Refreshments

NEW YORK

SEAMEN'S MIDWINTER SHINDIG
Saturday night, Jan. 16th
Polonia Club 201 2nd Av.
Songs by Frenchie — Cont. $1.50
Free Beer
Ausp: Seamen's Defense Committee.

ROUND TABLE REVIEW PRESENTS
"A TRIBUTE TO ROBERT BURNS"
Commemorating the 200th anniversary of the birth of the great Scottish poet. Dramatic readings, performance of the songs by actors and vocal soloists, with commentary on "Burns and the Liberal Tradition." Directed by Phoebe Brand and John Randolph. Commentary by Dr. Frederic Ewen.
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 27, 8:30 p.m.
Master Institute Theater
310 Riverside Dr. (103 St.) UN 4-1700
Admission $1.50

Interesting and enjoyable **MOVIES** shown at next meeting of West Side Community Club, Fri., Jan. 8, 8:30 p.m. Hotel Beacon, Silver Room, Broadway and 75 St. Admission Free.

TRAVEL

SOVIET HIGHLIGHTS

A Survey of Soviet Thought and Developments

In the Current Issue (No. 5, 1959)

SPRING IN SIGHT, by Ilya Ehrenburg—The famous writer states his views on cultural exchange.

THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES AND THE LIGHT FROM THE SCREEN, by D. Pisarevsky. A review of the movie festival in Moscow.

REMEMBER THE 16 YEAR OLDS! by L. Borodina. A letter on sex in films.

FAMILY HAPPINESS, by Z. I. Kozlov, President of Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Byelorussian Republic. A discussion on engagement and marriage.

THE ARITHMETIC OF SOCIALISM IN THE SAVINOV FAMILY, by A. Guryanov. A typical family budget in the U.S.S.R.

THE FUTURE OF OUR CITIES, by V. Kucherenko, Chairman, State Building Committee of the U.S.S.R. On city and regional planning.

THE BERING STRAIT DAM, by Boris Lyubimov. A proposal to change the climate of the Northern Hemisphere.

$6 per year (12 issues)
50c per copy
(Single copy orders must be prepaid)
INTERNATIONAL ARTS AND SCIENCES PRESS
33 W. 42nd St. N.Y. 36, N.Y

Only Three Weeks Till the Opening Of Our
WINTER TERM

A score—and more!—of night classes starting the week of Jan. 18. Eight 1½-hour sessions, once a week; $7.50 each full class, $1. a session.

Classes on "Marxist Theory," including:
- **"Economics of Capitalism"**
- **"Dialectics & The Arts"**
- **"Knowledge & Practice"**

Classes on "American Life," including:
- **"The 1960 Elections"**
- **"Trade Union Problems"**
- **"The Puerto Ricans Today"**

Classes on "The World Today," including:
- **"Coexistence & Competition"**
- **"Pavlov & Psychology"**
- **"Key World Areas & Issues"**

Registration 5-9 p.m., starting Jan. 4. Catalogs listing and describing all classes now available.
For further information call or write:
THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
Rm. 227 80 E. 11 (Bway) GR 3-6810

NEW YEAR'S PARTY
MUSIC, FUN, & DANCING
Good Food & Socializing
Dec. 31—**POLONIA CLUB**
201 2nd Ave. Near 13 St.
All Welcome! Contribution $1.50

New Year's Eve Party
Favors, dancing, music, refreshments at
116 University Place. Begins 9 p.m.
Contribution $1.50
Auspices: Militant Labor Forum

George Millard & Stewart Serman, last seen in **"Man Who Never Died"** reading from Dostoyevsky's **"The Possessed"** Sat., Dec. 26, 8:30 p.m., Debs Hall, 121 University Pl. (cor. 13 St.) Ausp: Young People's Socialist League.

AMERICAN THEATER
238 E. 3 St. (bet Aves. B & C)
Thurs. & Fri. Dec. 24, 25
"SADKO" spectacular Russian film based on Rimsky-Korsakov opera; also short film on Moiseyev dancers.
Wed., Thurs., Fri., Jan. 6, 7, 8
Two Russian Films—the musical **"The Scrapper"** and a comedy **"Jubilee"**

CLASSIFIED

GENERAL

1,000 Name & Address labels, in re-usable plastic case, only $1. Your name and address beautifully printed on quality gummed paper. Catalog on request. W. L. Whiteman Co., Box 6 NG, Boston 1, Mass.

COMMUNAL LIVING—Middle-aged Russian-speaking woman, practical nurse, cultural background, wishes to contact congenial people to form small group for communal living. Box D, c/o Guardian, 197 E. 4 St., New York 9, N.Y.

GIFT OF THE YEAR!
1960 ART CALENDAR
Selected pictures by 12 outstanding Bay Area artists—beautifully reproduced, with historic dates noted.
$1 per copy, $5 for six
Graphic Arts Workshop
271 Francisco, San Francisco 11, Cal.

RESORTS

HILLBERG FARM (Kerhonkson, N.Y.) Open all year. Unconventional atmosphere, relaxed people, gourmet's table. Natural surroundings, superbly beautiful. Phone: Kerhonkson 8008-W.

Learn the truths in acquiring and maintaining vigorous health the natural way. Enjoy a happy, healthy and productive life. Nutrition—Fasting — Exercise — Lectures. Write for free brochure.
PAWLING HEALTH MANOR
HYDE PARK, NEW YORK
Robert R. Gross, D.C., Ph.D., Director
Clyde K. Miller, M.D., Consultant
Phone: Staatsburg, N.Y., TU 9-2121

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

MERCHANDISE

HELEN'S CHINA OUTLET
VENETIAN MOSAIC TABLES
$4.98 and up
304 Amsterdam Av. (bet 74-75 Sts.)

CHICAGO

CHICAGOANS
FOR SECURE PROTECTION: Phone
LOU BLUMBERG
HArrison 7-5496
INSURANCE FOR HOME OR BUSINESS - LIFE - AUTO-FIRE-HEALTH
330 S. WELLS STREET

MIAMI, FLA.

Mr. John's
Beauty Salon
271 N.E. 79th St
Miami, Fla.
PL 9-3935
Moderate Prices—
High Class Work

SPECIAL XMAS GIVING
ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA
Reg. $398 Special $225
IMPORTED STAINLESS STEEL FLATWARE. Reg. $5.20 Special $3.49
ZENITH HI-FI STEREO CONSOLE
Reg. $325 Special $218
HOOVER VACUUM CLEANER
Reg. $89.95 Special $44.95
GRANCO FM RADIO Only $24.95
ELECTRIC BLANKET
$25 value Special $13.95
ADMIRAL RADIO-PHONO
Reg. $99.95 Special $59.95
Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Ave. (nr. 14 St.), N.Y. GR. 3-7819. 1-hour free parking on all sales.

LARGE SAVINGS ON MODERN FURNITURE! Good modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see.
SMILOW-THIELLE
N.Y.C.—856 Lexington Av. (nr. 64 St.)
CY 8-6010
White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Av.
WH 8-4788
Manhasset: 2046 Northern Blvd.
MA 7-0444

HELEN'S GIFT MART
SPECIAL: — Norwegian stainless steel Platters at 50% discount.
287 Amsterdam Av. (bet 73-74 Sts.)
Helen Milgrim, prop. TR 3-8060

SERVICES

If you are thinking of remodelling your fur coat—the most reliable place is:
MAX KUPERMAN
315 7 Av. OR 5-7773
Also: Good Buys in Alaskan Seal coats, Mink Stoles in all styles. Phone for appointment.

Dyad, London Worker
"Hurry up, Alfie, or you'll miss the program flashes between the ads."

UPHOLSTERY CRAFTSMAN
RE-WEBBING & REPAIRS — done in your home: Reupholstery, slip covers, drapes, foam rubber cushioning. Serving all boros. Fraternal attention. HY 8-7887.

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET
MULTIGRAPHING
MIMEOGRAPHING
Custom Letter Service
39 Union Square AL 5-8160

FREE LIFE INSURANCE ANALYSIS
Most coverage for least payment
RENE M. SCHENKER
420 Lexington Av., NY 17 MU 3-2837
Personal, business, fire, health, accident

NORMA CATERERS: Now booking for Fall & Winter Weddings, bar mitzvah, anniversary parties at home or temple. Office parties & home parties serviced anywhere in the metropolitan area. HU 7-1561.

BILL'S RADIO & TV SERVICE
Written Guarantees — Itemized Bills
Prompt — Reliable — Reasonable
268 Bleecker St. Phone: WA 9-0813

TELEVISION & AIR-CONDITIONING
UNIVERSITY TELEVISION SERVICE
(Bronx, Manhattan, Yonkers)
150 W. Kingsbridge Rd., Bronx 63, N.Y.
CY 8-0420

MOVING AND STORAGE
EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS
Profit by my 20 years experience
Call Ed Wendel, JE 6-8000
on any moving problem.

BUSSIE BROTHERS (Union Movers) Moving, storage local & long distance. We buy and sell new and used furniture. 960 Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn. Phone: BU 4-2988 (24 hrs.) or IN 9-3431.

BUDGET MOVERS & STORAGE: CH 3-7312. Station-wagon, vans—pickup service anytime, any place—Insured Estimates given.—Economical—PSC 859.

CALVIN FORD
MOVING - - - STORAGE
Good used furniture for sale.
645 Allerton Av.
Phones: OL 2-6795 and 2-9033

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS
Economical, insured household moving
Vans, station wagons—24 hours, 7 days
Local, long distance—small, large
THE PADDED WAGON—AL 5-8343

RED WAGON Moving, storage, packing, crating. Inexpensive, insured professional. Vans, trucks, station wagons.
Any time, any place.
RED WAGON SP 7-2555 PSC 768

ACE EXPRESS (formerly Jim's express)
Vans—Panels—Station Wagon
Bonded - Insured, 24 hr. service, $3.50, $4.50 per hour, per man.
SU 7-7378.

THE GALLERY

LOUIS POLLOCK used to be healthy, reasonably wealthy and wise. But in the last five years he visited doctors regularly and needed pills to sleep; twice he mortgaged his house and eventually sold it; and, he will now admit, he was very naive.

Pollock quit as a $25,000-a-year director for United Artists in 1945 to write free lance. Until 1954 he did well; he sold five movies, a novel and numerous radio and TV scripts. But beginning in 1955 he couldn't sell a thing. He wrote 12 screenplays and 29 TV scripts, but all were returned by the studios.

He began to think he had "lost the touch." He went to see a doctor for his health and a banker for his mortgage. He managed to stay off relief by ghosting magazine articles for movie stars and Hollywood columnists Hedda Hopper and Sheila Graham.

Friends often teased him that he must be on the blacklist. "How could I be?," he would answer. "I never belonged to any organization in my life except the Authors League and the Writers Guild."

But in September Pollock learned he really was on "the list." A Hollywood executive told him confidentially. Pollock found in the library files of the proceedings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities that Louis Pollack, a California clothier, had been an unfriendly witness in 1954, just before Pollock's trouble began.

He consulted Curtis Kenyon, president of the Writers Guild, and was advised to get in touch with a lawyer named Martin Gang. The lawyer checked Pollock's story and wrote to a local representative of the committee. The letter was passed on to Washington.

On Dec. 3 a reply came from committee staff investigator Richard Arens. The last sentence read: "The reading of the testimony of Louis Pollack indicates that he is not the same person as Louis Pollock and I very gladly point this out for your benefit and use."

Pollock said: "Now I feel numb." He added: "What a terrible shame that all these people I knew in the industry would let me come in to see them and would let me submit stories over the years without having the elemental humanity to let me know, in some way, I didn't have a chance."

He said he hoped that this case would help the Writers Guild's fight against the blacklist. He said he didn't know who supplied the list, but "the studios don't get names for nothing."

"We have fallen into a low state," he added "if this was possible. I was ashamed and saddened by it."

Presumably the studios will take another look at the scripts they rejected and they will probably conclude that Pollock still "has the touch."

It was a happy Christmas for Louis Pollock, but what sort of a holiday was it for Louis Pollack?

FRANK STANLEY in the Chicago **Defender** reported: "Doctors are now visualizing the day when you can walk into their office and tell them your symptoms. They will feed this personal information plus their professional knowledge of you into an electronic data-coding machine. The machine will relay data to a giant central computer linked to other computer centers all over the world. In minutes, perhaps seconds, a combined opinion of the world's best medical minds on how to treat your case will flash to your doctor's office." . . . For the lady you may have overlooked on your holiday gift list, the New York **Herald Tribune** reported that "Bergdorf's has an utterly plain, beautiful full-length coat made of the finest dark Royal Crown sable, $55,000 plus tax." . . . In 1959 about $500,000,000 was spent on dogs. During the holidays popular gifts for canines included pajamas for poodles, opera cloaks, mink coats, reversible raincoats with hoods, lounging robes and jockey costumes . . . A new strip teaser calls herself Wanda Lust.

—Robert E. Light

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

CHRISTMAS, 1949, IS BEST SEEN where there is no snow, no sleigh bells, no great cathedral. Christmas looks good in a five-room house in Jacksonville, Fla. Mrs. Sallie Nixon stood in its living room last week and said: "I'm too happy to say a word."

In November, 1948, Isaiah Nixon, her husband, tried to vote in a Democratic primary in Georgia; he was a Negro, and white men murdered him. His wife, his mother, his six children dared not stay in Georgia. They fled to Jacksonville, where Isaiah's uncle lived. He was unemployed; he had only two rooms for his wife, himself and his child. But Isaiah was dead and Isaiah's family had no place to go. They moved in.

Then friends came around. The Pittsburgh **Courier** launched a campaign. Some gave quarters, some gave dollars, some gave furniture. The newspaper itself contributed more than $2,000. Last week the new five-room house was finished, furnished and ready for Mrs. Nixon and her family to move in. They had a Christmas tree for the kids. **—National Guardian, December 26, 1949**

MARCEL PAINTERS
Private homes, apartments, business premises. Reasonable. Anywhere in five boros. — For estimate phone: Nunez, DE 6-2978.

PAINTER—private work our specialty. Good materials. Reasonable winter prices. Phone: JE 8-4113.

INSTRUCTION

PIANO INSTRUCTION—New highly effective method. Outstanding results beginners, advanced students. Pedagogy, coaching for teachers, professionals. Sophie Solotaroff, Phone: TR 7-1541.

ROOM WANTED

MIDDLE-AGED MAN wants room in Manhattan, west side, convenient to buses. Prefers living in family set-up. Write Box K, c/o Guardian, 197 E. 4 St., New York 9, N.Y.

APARTMENT TO SHARE

WEST 89 ST. MAN desires to share his modern apt. Own room, convenient. $70 month. Box 12, c/o Guardian, 197 E. 4 St., New York 9, N.Y.

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

The GBS Annual Report . . .

Thanks — and Happy New Year!

SHORTLY after you receive this issue the GBS Guidance Council will convene to review our annual report card. And you who are the GBS customers deserve to know the reading will be good. The Council will discover that the gross for '59 was a solid 25% over '58, and that while our profit margin does not approach that of the drug industry it has provided a tidy boost toward the GUARDIAN's upkeep. Our thanks go out to all of you who faithfully and astutely took advantage of our bargains and thus helped us with our housekeeping.

It's been a fascinating as well as profitable year, with many nice surprises. One of the nicest was the way you snapped up the 300 Picasso prints we offered in September. Paris dispatched another 200 to get us through the Holidays, but early in December we had to start returning your checks for **Le Bouquet** and **Don Quichotte.** There are a few **Carnavals** and **Pere Noel's** still on hand, and we'll offer them again as soon as we take inventory.

Another pleasant Christmas surprise was the way you went for the "opticals"—the little folding opera glasses and the fine imported binoculars and microscopes. Unhappily we ran out of the "dissecting kit" models shortly before Christmas, but more are en route and they'll all become staples of our operation.

The Tic Toy Clock was another clicker; we sold our first dozens in a hurry and had to scour the town to buy them at retail prices so late customers wouldn't be disappointed. By Dec. 15, however, everybody else was out too, and we had to return your orders regretfully. On the other hand, those who ordered the little transistor radio got a real bargain: when our supplier's stock was exhausted we had to substitute two more expensive models, the **Hitachi** and the **Continental.** By the way, small speaker cabinets are available for both for indoor playing at $5 and $8 respectively; makes 'em sound like fine table models.

Things to come

Pleased as we are with '59, we're setting our sights higher for '60. We've already got some sensational values lined up, as the ad boys say. Next week, for example, we'll introduce our new camera, projector, film and tape recorder line, giving you from 25-35% off retail list prices. Naturally we won't be able to list every single piece of equipment that's available, but we can obtain whatever you need. We suggest that you shop around, decide what you want, and if you're not in a terrible rush let us give you a quotation.

A one-time-only item for January will be 100 copies of a magnificent album of mural reproductions from Japan—**The Hiroshima Panels,** and an article by the Guardian's Tokyo correspondent, John Roberts, explaining how they came to be painted. Forewarned is forearmed—we have **only** 100, and you'd do well to order yours the instant they're announced.

The French Peace Committee has offered us three contemporary Chinese prints, plus an extraordinary rubbing from the T'ang dynasty. We've ordered 300 again, and they'll be here in February.

Coming Jan. 11 — *Imported Pathe and Odeon recordings from France, like Madame Butterfly, connoisseurs' items, with a still-to-be-announced GBS bonus.*

A phonograph record importer has offered us a selection of Pathe and Odeon discs from France (including **eleven** by Yves Montand). It's difficult to describe the extraordinary quality of these recordings, nine of which made the list of the 100 best recordings of the year. The artists, recordings and even the packaging are superb. They're expensive—$5.95 per record—and since we can't offer discounts we're figuring out a way to make it up to you, like offering you a free book with each purchase or a trial sub for a friend. We'll let you know more as soon as we resolve the problem.

Also, we are adding to our vitamin dept. shelf; and studying the imported cutlery situation, as well as some wonderful imported tools for the do-it-yourself fraternity.

If there are other items you'd like us to offer, drop your suggestions in the mail. We'll check the market and if there's a chance of offering you real values we'll add 'em on.

Thanks again—and a Happy New Year!

Coming Next Week—*A complete line of photographic equipment, including the Bell & Howell 8mm, Electric Eye motion picture camera, above. It lists at $139.95.* GBS Price—**$106.95**

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Description of Item	Amount

(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL

Orders filled only in the U.S.

No COD's. Full payment must accompany each order. Please make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

Name ....

Address ....

City .... Zone .... State ....

When ordering items in color, always specify second color choice.

NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

There is still time . . .

There are differences and fears and distrust in this world and always the sober reminder of the need for realistic thinking. We have tried to be aware of this, and then tried to transcend it by a concept of hope on celluloid—namely, to reach out to the hearts of people everywhere that they might feel compassion—for themselves.

THUS, STANLEY KRAMER, who alone among the Hollywood producers seems willing to confront the basic issues of the world today, set the theme for a film of great compassion which he produced and directed. The film is **On the Beach.** On the night of Dec. 17 it opened simultaneously in 18 capitals of the world—and if it succeeds in touching the hearts of people everywhere with its message, it can be a most eloquent means of helping to restore sanity and preserve the living things of this world, including ourselves.

The time is 1964. An atomic war, touched off by accident—no one quite knows how: a blip on a radar screen which caused a jumpy junior officer to give the fatal signal, perhaps—has wiped the Northern Hemisphere clear of living things. The radioactive air, pressed by the prevailing winds, is inexorably closing in on the last sector of the Southern Hemisphere which still contains life. Melbourne is the scene of man's last hope, and hope is the word. For in the face of certain doom, people cling to hope, to love, to creation. They even laugh, at least until the laughter dies in the throat with sudden recall. An atomic-powered American submarine goes from Melbourne to Point Barrow in Alaska seeking life. But all hope is dashed when a mystery signal in San Diego proves to be transmitted by a Coke bottle with its neck in the loop of a shade caught on a wireless sender.

IN THIS SETTING, the film focuses on a small group: the submarine commander who refuses to accept the fact of his family's disaster at home; an Australian lady of loose virtue who in the midst of tragedy seeks the fulfilment of love; a young Australian naval officer and his terrified wife and child; a tortured scientist impelled to try to explain how it came about. It began, he says, when the nations of the world thought that they could defend themselves with a weapon over which they had no control.

To underline this awful accusation of mindlessness, the camera through the submarine periscope looks on a San Francisco barren of life. Nothing but buildings and deserted streets. The spectator weeps for humanity—until the stark realization comes that he is weeping for himself. And the sorrow turns to fear.

But it is fear produced not by brutal techniques, but rather by underplayed desperation. Not once is there a shocker, not even in a reckless auto race punctuated by death, because you expect men who are doomed to a horrible death by poison to be willing to risk their lives without hesitation on a sharp turn in the track. Not once is there a shock, until the end. Then a Salvation Army banner, whipped in the breeze over the heads of ever-dwindling crowds, moves to a grim close-up on the screen; and in a trumpeting crescendo the audience is face to face with the banner's message: THERE IS STILL TIME, BROTHER. Thus you leave the theater.

AT THIS WRITING, all the reports of the worldwide premiere had not come in. But we know that there were tears in Japan; and an invited audience of 1,200 in the private theater of the Soviet Filmworkers Union in Moscow applauded warmly, according to the New York **Herald Tribune.** Gregory Peck, a star of the film, was in the audience.

In New York Lieut. Gen. Clarence R. Heubner, New York State director of civil defense, denounced the film as a fantasy "which lacks scientific basis" and overlooks the possibility of defense against radioactive fallout. He didn't elaborate on the defenses.

The only other adverse criticism that has come to attention is perhaps more significant because it comes not from an automaton but from a serious critic. In the **New Republic** of Dec. 14 Stanley Kauffmann wrote: "The film will frighten millions—in a good cause. In such a cause, is it relevant to criticize the artistic merits of the effort? Yes."

Whereupon critic Kauffmann proceeds to peck at the film until the "good cause" is drowned in a sea of such phrases as "sentimentality . . . Kitsch . . . soap opera . . . cliches . . . contrivances . . . pure Hollywood." Kauffmann concludes:

"From the political propaganda point of view this use of the picture [to portray the U.S. to the Russians as something other than a warmonger] is an admirable feather in Kramer's well-plumed hat. But utility is a treacherous standard in art; so is such a consideration as Kramer's courage in making the picture. . . . Kramer, like the rest of us, doesn't want the world to be blown up; but he doesn't want to lose money saying so. . . . Perhaps in his caution, too, he is like the rest of us. We don't want destruction, but we don't want to lose anything in order to prevent it."

Would it be rude to suggest that a critic speak for himself only? Perhaps the **New Republic's** man prefers to hang on to our tension-ridden status quo; but speaking for myself—and I would dare to hope that there may be hundreds of millions of like mind—I'm quite ready to lose plenty for the privilege of life. Especially when, as it so often turns out, what we lose is not worth clinging to in the first place. And what we would gain by heeding Kramer's courageous warning is immeasurable.

—James Aronson.

More, please

HERMOSA BEACH, CALIF.

Please more articles by Dr. Du Bois. The Negro people are fortunate in having a spokesman of his genius and stature.

B. Froug